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ABSTRACT

This report examines political conflict in decision making in three public schools, and describes how the Teacher Participation Project (TPP), which was implemented in two of the schools, sought to minimize such conflict by institutionalizing local governance structures for teachers. The report consists of two parts. Part I investigates various aspects of political conflict in schools, and includes (1) a chapter on the schools' demographic and political contexts; (2) a case study (in a non-TPP high school) on the power struggle and political factions that developed among the faculty because of a student discipline problem; (3) a case study (in a TPP middle school) on problems that arose when a small group of teachers and staff tried to circumvent the faculty governance structure in initiating a bilingual program; and (4) a case study (in a TPP elementary school) on staff factionalism that resulted when a new administrator initiated changes in the school's decision making structure. Part II, which examines TPP-initiated governance structures as a way of dealing with school politics, describes how TPP evolved; discusses the project's impact; analyzes the concept of teacher participation in governance as an evolutionary process; and suggests that teacher participation in governance improves both teaching and student learning. (Author/MJL)

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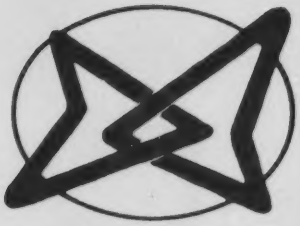

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TEACHER PARTICIPATION IN SCHOOL-SITE GOVERNANCE: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF SCHOOL CHANGE

Woodrow W. Clark, Jr., Ph.D.

June 1979

UD 022 752

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The names of people, places, and projects have been pseudonymed in this case study to preserve the anonymity of participants.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank the many people who were involved in the preparation of this study. I cannot directly acknowledge those people within the Teacher Preparation Project or the schools in Central City. To do so would reveal their identities. However, I owe the greatest degree of warm appreciation to the teachers, administrators, students, parents, support staff, change agents, and internal evaluators.

To the members of the Documentation and Technical Assistance Project directed by Thomas Wilson I am indebted for a variety of things: the active support, the close collegial relations, the provision of financial and human resources, and the opportunity to do the research. Above all, I appreciated the hours of discussion with Drs. Norris Johnson, Hannah Meara, Phil Runkel, David Smith, and Steve Wilson. All have contributed to my own thinking and writing in immeasurable ways.

Special thanks must be given to Dorothy Kahn whose editorial assistance is deeply appreciated. Sara Hennings and Gloria Spann did an excellent job of translating and typing from very rough drafts. Janis Clark, my wife, created a healthy environment in which to think, argue, and resolve the problems set out by this study. Above all, Dr. Vincent Watson, who acted as my site advisor, deserves recognition and tribute for his companionship, support and reflection over the issues which I struggled with daily for three years. However, I alone must accept responsibility for any inaccuracies and all the conclusions that have occurred as a result of this volume.

PROJECT OVERVIEW

The Documentation and Technical Assistance in Urban Schools Project (DTA) is an effort to learn more about how to make urban public schools work better for urban students. Toward this end, DTA combines educational research and practice within one project. DTA's mandate has three interrelated parts:

> DOCUMENTATION - to study, using primarily ethnographic techniques, the ways in which selected urban schools organize themselves to solve problems. Documentation focuses upon nine sites throughout the country selected and funded by NIE to continue to engage in locally initiated improvement activities.
>
> TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE - to develop in practice specific strategies which are designed to improve urban public schooling. Technical assistance strategies are based in part upon documentation of useful practices in the nine funded sites.
>
> LINKAGE - to increase understanding, through observation of DTA's attempts to link documentation with technical assistance, of the processes through which research can be useful to practice, and practice can influence research.

This case study is a product of the documentation effort. The ideas, commitment, hard work, successes and disappointments of the people directly working within urban schools on a day-to-day basis are in a very real sense the base of DTA. This case study captures part of that experience in one of the sites. It is our hope that this description will be useful to researchers, policy planners and particularly to the people who work directly in schools in their effort to improve the quality and validity of the educational experiences for urban students.

Thomas A. Wilson
DTA Project Director

PREFACE TO A SERIES OF CASE STUDIES

Produced by the

DOCUMENTATION AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE PROJECT (DTA)

In 1974 the Local Capacity for Problem Solving Group of the National Institute of Education held a national competition to identify locally initiated projects which showed promise of fundamentally improving urban schools. They were searching for projects which sought to restructure schools in such ways that the schools could successfully work in solving their problems in an ongoing fashion, rather than for the projects which sought to introduce some one shot, particular innovation. They selected nine projects which included a variety of strategies and approaches such as teacher centers, organizational consultation, and community involvement arrangements. This document is a case study of one of these nine projects.

The purpose of this preface is to briefly outline general contextual and methodological issues relating to the production of this case study. We believe that researchers usually shy away from sharing this information and the information is valuable because it answers many of the reader's questions and helps the reader to interpret and use the case study. The reader can find more details on all these issues in the DTA paper "Explorations of the Concept of Local Capacity for Problem Solving" (S. Wilson, 1977). Similarly, the site researchers address many of these issues in the methodological appendices to their case studies.

Focus of the Case Study - Charge Given to Site Researchers

In each of the nine sites there was a particular strategy that was

funded by NIE. That is, certain people had written the proposal and were involved in intervening to help improve the schools in ways that they thought would build a long term capacity for problem solving. The site researchers were primarily responsible for documenting the playing out of that strategy. They were charged with answering these kinds of questions: How did the interveners think schools needed to be restructured? How did these interveners think they could effectively take action to facilitate this restructuring? What did they actually do? What happened as they tried to intervene? Why did it happen? What did the school people with whom they worked think about what was happening? What other characteristics of the site influenced the course of events? What was the impact of the intervener's actions? NIE had spent considerable time on selecting these promising strategies, and site researchers were expected to document them thoroughly. There was much to learn from these concrete attempts to improve schools.

We hoped, of course, that in documenting these particular strategies, the site researchers would be able to provide a more general analysis of how and why schools do and don't solve their problems, and even more fundamentally of how urban schools function. To varying degrees this more general analysis is explicitly, or implicitly, present in the case studies. The reader, however, <u>should not</u> expect a study of schools as total settings. Clearly, the prime focus was on documenting the particular NIE funded strategy, and often that task consumed most of the site researcher's energies. In the middle of the documentation, we began to ask questions about the wisdom of this concentration on the funded strategy and we invite

readers to share our questioning as they explore the case studies.

Timing

Below we present a time line which will help the reader see how the research fits into the history of the sites, and how much time was spent in the field.

September 1974	Nine sites funded activity begins.
January 1975	DTA contractor selected for project.
April 1975	Site researchers begin studying sites and attempt historical reconstruction of events up to their entry in the field.
July 1976	Site researchers begin to write drafts of case studies documenting period of observation. They continue to document sites at reduced level.
November 1976	Site researchers return to field to observe at full effort.
June 1977	Nine site funding ends.
June 1977	Site researchers begin to write final drafts of case studies incorporating critiques of first drafts and new data gathered from second period of observation.

At full effort, site researchers spent about three days a week in the field. The details of dates and amounts of time spent in the field vary from site to site. Readers are urged to consult the methodological appendices of the case studies for details.

DTA Project Context

Site researchers were not scholars pursuing independent research projects. While they were given considerable latitude to shape their own

research activities, they were working on a specific government contract. The reader may find it helpful in understanding the research to be aware of this DTA project context.

This context may have influenced the research by the demands it made on site researchers' energies and by the implicit values it fostered. We have already mentioned how the contract shaped the focus. In addition to producing case studies, site researchers were needed to support other project activities including comparative cross-site analysis, testing of an experimental computerized data storage and retrieval system for qualitative data, and ongoing assistance to schools.

This last activity needs elaboration. Based on an analysis that many research findings do not really get used to improve schools, the DTA contract called for innovative combination of research on efforts to improve schools with the simultaneous attempt within the same project to use that information to help other schools. Thus, site researchers were involved in activities such as responding to assistance staff questions, visiting the schools that were being assisted, and participating in seminars designed to see how their research could be useful.

The reader should realize, then, that site researchers were not able to focus their energies exclusively on the production of the case studies. Their data and analysis had to serve many other purposes. Also, the contract did not only influence time expenditure. Many people within the DTA project -- including some site researchers -- were not convinced that traditional case studies were the most powerful format for sharing research so that it helped

in the improvement of schools. The emphasis on using the research thus influenced DTA staff's decisions about what the case studies should look like, and even the value some placed on the case study relative to other activities. We invite the reader to read the other DTA papers, in addition to reading the case studies, and to join us in reflection on what are the most powerful ways to use research.

Research Methodology and Theoretical Orientations

Site researchers were requested to use a grounded research process. That is, they were asked to build their generalizations on analysis that emerged from ongoing data collection and to test critically the relevance of outside theoretical concepts and frameworks against the day-to-day life of the site they were studying. Grounded research was deemed appropriate for two reasons:

1. The concept, local capacity for problem solving, is relatively new in educational change projects. DTA was exploring the meaning and usefulness of the concept. We felt it would be premature to limit the data collection relevant to this exploration by prespecifying the concepts and research activities.

2. The nine site project staff, the core staff of the two organizations which received the DTA contract, and the site researchers represent a wide diversity of experience, disciplinary backgrounds, and theoretical orientations. A grounded research approach would allow the flexibility necessary for each case study research effort to benefit from the theoretical orientations that would be most appropriate for understanding events at that site.

As a result the case studies vary considerably in the nature of their theoretical emphasis and indeed in the amount of explicit theorizing. Most

of the case studies concentrate on description and have first-level interpretations. In this way, they attempt to serve as a resource to readers from various disciplines and theoretical dispositions.

Concretely, site researchers used a variety of techniques to collect data. These techniques included some combination of participant observation, formal interviewing, informal interviewing, document analysis, and quantitative techniques. They observed in a variety of behavior settings. The specific details are described in each case study.

The project described in this case study was undertaken by serious, caring people trying to improve urban schools. We are grateful to the participants for letting us learn from their experiences -- to share vicariously the joy of their accomplishments, and with them to puzzle through their difficulties. We hope the reader finds what s(he) needs in entering these pages.

Stephen Wilson
Head, Documentation Team DTA

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INTRODUCTION: THE POLITICS OF EDUCATION

The Politics of Education

The purpose of this case study is to describe one solution to the political problem of decision making within public schools: The Teacher Participation Project (TPP). This project tried to ameliorate the problem of everyday political behavior in schools by institutionalizing local school governance structures for teachers that would cope with political conflict. This study focuses on three schools, but attempts to keep in mind the larger context of the project and of the city as well.

The case study explores three interrelated themes about schools as institutions: (1) that the public schools are political organizations; (2) that the process of changing schools evolves over a period of time; and (3) that staff participation in decision making enhances staff and student performance. Each of these themes is a unifying thread throughout the study. The particular themes reflect the author's conceptualization of the data. However, from discussions with people who participated in the TPP, it is clear that these three themes accurately capture the thrust and purpose of the Teacher Participation Project in Central City.

As the data was gathered and written up during the three year research effort, it was reviewed by the project participants. Accuracy and the perspective of the project participants are major concerns of this case study which reflects and portrays the way that teachers, administrators, and change agents see the Teacher Participation Project. Consequently, quotations and references are drawn directly from the observations and interviews of the project participants. Where appropriate, reference is made to the role of a particular person without revealing the name of the individual filling it. Analysis of the data also reflects the project participants' perspective.

While a consensus is not always possible, the study attempts to describe events, situations, and activities from the participants' point of view. (The research methodology for the case study appears in detail, as Appendix A.)

A brief description of the process used to solve political conflict and turmoil in schools, provides an overview of the entire case study. The Teacher Participation Project in School-Site Governance was developed by a state teachers association. Based upon past experiences in two separate school districts in Southern California, two staff members developed and presented their concept of school governance structures to the Central City Teachers Association. A small cadre of teachers pursued the project with federal funding from the National Institute of Education for three years. The Central City School District Office was in full agreement with the project goals, which fit the Superintendent's own desire to decentralize authority and give power to the individual public schools in Central City.

Essentially the project trained "opinion leaders" within schools to assess, design, implement, and institutionalize governance structures for their particular schools. Due to federal funding guidelines, only "poverty level" schools were eligible for project assistance. With state and local teachers association support, six additional non-poverty schools were part of the project. By 1978, five additional schools became active in the project.

In order to implement the project, the initial cadre of teachers became a consultant team which, later on in the last year, collectively became the Principal Investigator for the federal funds. The State Teachers Association provided staff and support assistance. The original State Teachers Association

staff remained deeply involved in the project and one staff member, an expert in curriculum development, was the Principal Investigator for the first two years of the project.

The project followed a process designed to place faculty councils or senates in at least twelve schools. By the end of the federal funding, they were successful in that each school had a written constitution outlining the roles and responsibilities of elected faculty (and other staff, students, and parents in many cases) representatives in the councils or senates. The idea was to have elected representatives from whatever units (pods, departments, functions, employment categories, etc.) the school staff had decided were appropriate and fair. The council or senate usually had from ten to fifteen members depending upon the size of the school and the number of parent or student representatives. These councils/senates would act (after a period of time) as legislative bodies, while the school principal served as the administrator and manager for the elected group. Problems between the two sources of power were adjudicated at the Central City School District Office.

The councils or senates required time to evolve into politically viable and potent structures. Often they handled only minor problems presented to them by the school administrators. Basic, substantive issues were avoided in the early stages as it took the councils or senates at least a year or so to develop and grow. As the process grew the administrator and staff began to feel less combative and became much more secure in their new roles.*

The governance structures for schools addressed the long recognized, but little researched problems of the everyday politics within the schools.

---

*Built in part upon the TPP process and success, the State of California enacted legislation in September 1977 (AB65) that provided funds and resources to start school-site councils throughout the State.

As Jennings, et al. wrote:

> Schools are political entities. Unfortunately, they have not been so regarded until recently...the governmental (emphasis mine) aspects of school systems have been only incidental to these investigations. Occasionally one may encounter a case study or other investigation of limited scope which approaches school district government as a political process, but even these are few and far between. (1974:1)

Anyone who has been paid to work in a school for a few years will attest to the reality of school politics. Practitioners have long acknowledged the latent politics of education. Aside from the electoral politics of the school board, each school has factions, interest groups, powerful individuals, and a power elite. Pressure from parents and students is also political in its nature, design and goals.

The everyday politics of schools is defined for this study as people competing for power and authority. Social scientists have described such activities both in government and in the traditional electoral processes in any society. Only recently are latent politics being perceived as significant in the decision and policy making of so-called nonpolitical organizations, such as banks, social service agencies, and public schools.

Political activity occurs everywhere. As Swartz put it, politics refers to:

> The events which are involved in the determination and implementation of public goals and/or the differential distribution and use of power within the group or groups concerned with the goals being considered. (1968:1)

Radcliffe-Brown (1940) noted "there is no such thing as the power of the State; there is only, in reality, power of individuals. . ." The individual is the key to the use (and abuse) of power. Politics can be found not only among the political party bosses, the elected officials, the committee members, and such, but also within families, churches, businesses and schools. Unfortunately, too little research exists with regard to these other political arenas.

As two political scientists recently observed about the lack of political studies on public schools:

> Political scientists have rarely regarded local school governance as a legitimate area of inquiry, even though the boards make up one of the most important classes of public service bodies in the nation (Zeigler and Jennings, 1975).

Zeigler and Jennings, however, stopped at the Board level, failing to dig beneath the surface at the daily political activity of teachers, administrators, community groups, and others in the schools. Their only reference to such everyday political phenomena was: "The reason for this neglect lies in the ostensible de-politicization of education" (1975:1).

The everyday, and natural, political behavior of poeple within schools can result in conflict and turmoil that detract from teaching and learning. Such political behavior as arguments over lunch supervision, department budgets, class size, student discipline, etc. makes the educative process difficult, if not impossible. The only way to handle the everyday politics of education effectively is to make it manifest through a political process which meets everyone's needs and goals. Constitutionally derived governance structures do just that. Over a three year period, qualitative and quantitative data were collected on the Central City schools that substantiate this fundamental assertion. This case study, which is divided into two parts, presents some of this accumulated data. The first part discusses various aspects of the problem of political behavior within schools, the second describes the solution offered by the Teacher Participation Project.

Part I deals with the problem in schools through the use of three brief case studies. In this introductory discussion of the "politics of education" my concern was to apply the Swartz definition of politics (above) to the public school setting. In doing so, it becomes clear that the latent political

nature of schools is indeed their own problem. Chapter I describes "Central City and its schools." Each of the three succeeding chapters discusses different but representative problems of everyday politics at work within three separate schools. For the sake of clarity and comprehension, I have focused upon a critical event at each school that demonstrates the overriding theme of the political nature of schools.

Chapter II, for example, illustrates how a student behavioral problem at a high school became a crisis in power and authority for the principal because one teacher was able to mobilize almost the entire faculty against the principal. This particular school was not part of the TPP; it was selected as a viable contrast to the other two TPP schools. Chapter III presents the political problem a middle school faced in instituting a new bilingual program when a small group of teachers, paraprofessionals, and a vice-principal attempted to circumvent the faculty governance structure. Chapter IV describes how an elementary school, inundated with over two dozen special projects, was turned into everything but a learning center for students.

Part II of the case study presents The Solution for Schools in the form of governance structures which provide a process for dealing with the latent politics of everyday life within the schools. Chapter V describes how the TPP evolved over a three year period of funding. The evolution of the project demonstrated not only the need to understand innovative change strategies over a long period of time, but also that the results of that change can better be seen at the school site over an extended period of time.

Chapter VI outlines in detail what the change strategy was and how it operated. Within the chapter some detail is provided about the everyday life of the project staff. Chapter VII discusses the impact of the project. Through both statistical and descriptive data, it can be seen how the project

progressed toward meeting its goals. Each of the school cases in Part I is re-examined in terms of the solution to its own political problems. Chapter VIII attempts to understand the concept of teacher participation as an evolutionary process. The last chapter contains conclusions about the overall politics of change drawn from the case study.

PART I: CENTRAL CITY SCHOOLS: CONTEXT FOR THE STUDY

CHAPTER I: CENTRAL CITY AND ITS SCHOOLS

CENTRAL CITY AND ITS SCHOOLS*

Public schools exist in the context of a particular local community. Consequently the social and economic issues that influence the community take their toll upon the schools. The political climate of the community is a significant factor in the daily operations and policies of public schools.

The Demographic Context of Central City

Central City was founded in the late eighteenth century. Of course, prior to that time Indian nations had established villages throughout the West Coast. The influx of Spaniards changed not only the social-economic climate of the Indian life, but also its political structures. The chain of missions founded along the California coast from San Diego to San Francisco became the early prototype of city political structures in California; the establishment of a central town served as a core with civic and business activities providing the hub of the region's economic and social events.

Today the Chamber of Commerce in Central City strives to maintain the same model:

> Each major city needs a strong, vibrant, and active central core area that its citizens can point to with pride as their city's "heart." (Central City) is no exception. Working to rejuvenate the downtown and develop a sense of unity are a set of task forces and committees operating within this Council. (Chamber of Commerce, 1974)

No less than one-third of the Chamber's accomplishments, as listed in High lights of Accomplishments 1974, were directly related to core city development, viz., secured "new downtown site for Chamber"; gained commitment from

---

*In order to preserve confidentiality for the Teacher Participation Project, the schools and the city in which it operated, pseudonyms are used throughout the study. Sources and data are quoted from actual reference material without the citation being given to avoid revealing identities.

the Federal government "for an office building in the central core"; pushed need for new "exhibit hall and received approval" from City Council. Another three or four highlights are indirectly related, such as "fought successfully for changes in the Clean Air Act" or "prevented a rise in the sewer tax that would have cost the hotel/motel industry "thousands of dollars."

These items illustrate the concern for downtown and Central City development on the part of the local business community. The economic concern is important for two reasons which relate directly to the public schools. First, the Chamber's Highlights of Accomplishments tend to be conservative according to some observers. At the very least, they are pro-business. Central City is a rapidly growing community. The Chamber reports the population in 1874 at 10,000. Today the population is nearing half a million with over twenty-five percent of that growth occurring within the last decade. The Chamber's accomplishments are consistent with the rapid suburban growth that has occurred concurrently. An interesting example exists with the Chamber's stated goals at the turn of this century:

> Building markets for the valley's growing agricultural prominence, seeking new industries to diversify our local economy, developing new transit systems, and creating a new exciting downtown... (Chamber of Commerce, 1974)

The same goals exist today and the Chamber's influence on Central City's economic development in the downtown area is pronounced. Dozens of sprawling housing developments with clusters of shopping malls have proliferated over the past ten to fifteen years. The city itself has grown by the annexation of surrounding towns. Yet the economic power base remains located in the downtown area. The outlying housing developments and shopping areas are simply extensions of the downtown economic core. The new suburbs contain not only the former downtown residents but also many of its businesses and industries.

A second economic concern can be seen in the location of the schools within Central City. All the low-income and poverty neighborhoods exist within the downtown area of Central City. A statistical analysis based upon the 1970 census shows that is the area of heavy concentration of the Spanish surnamed, Afro-American, Native American, and Oriental ethnic groups. The aged and poor tend to reside as well in the same areas. The census also reveals that the downtown area has the highest crime and transiency rates (County Family Services Agency, 1975). This is where the low-income schools are located and the economic development of the downtown area has a direct bearing upon the local schools. The schools are at a disadvantage because the economic development of the area has priority over educational needs. Economic development tends to take precedence over the personal concerns of the residents in the neighborhoods and communities in that same area, with the interests of the latter often conflicting with the economic needs and expectations of some well-established special interest groups.

Central City Unified School District

Recent school district records show that there are thirty-five elementary schools with a student population of 20,533; five junior high schools with 8,065 students, and five senior high schools with 8,569 students. The total student population is 37,167 enrolled in 45 schools. The largest ethnic minority group are Spanish surnamed students. They compose about 25 percent of the elementary school students; 24 percent of the junior high students; and 24 percent of the senior high students.

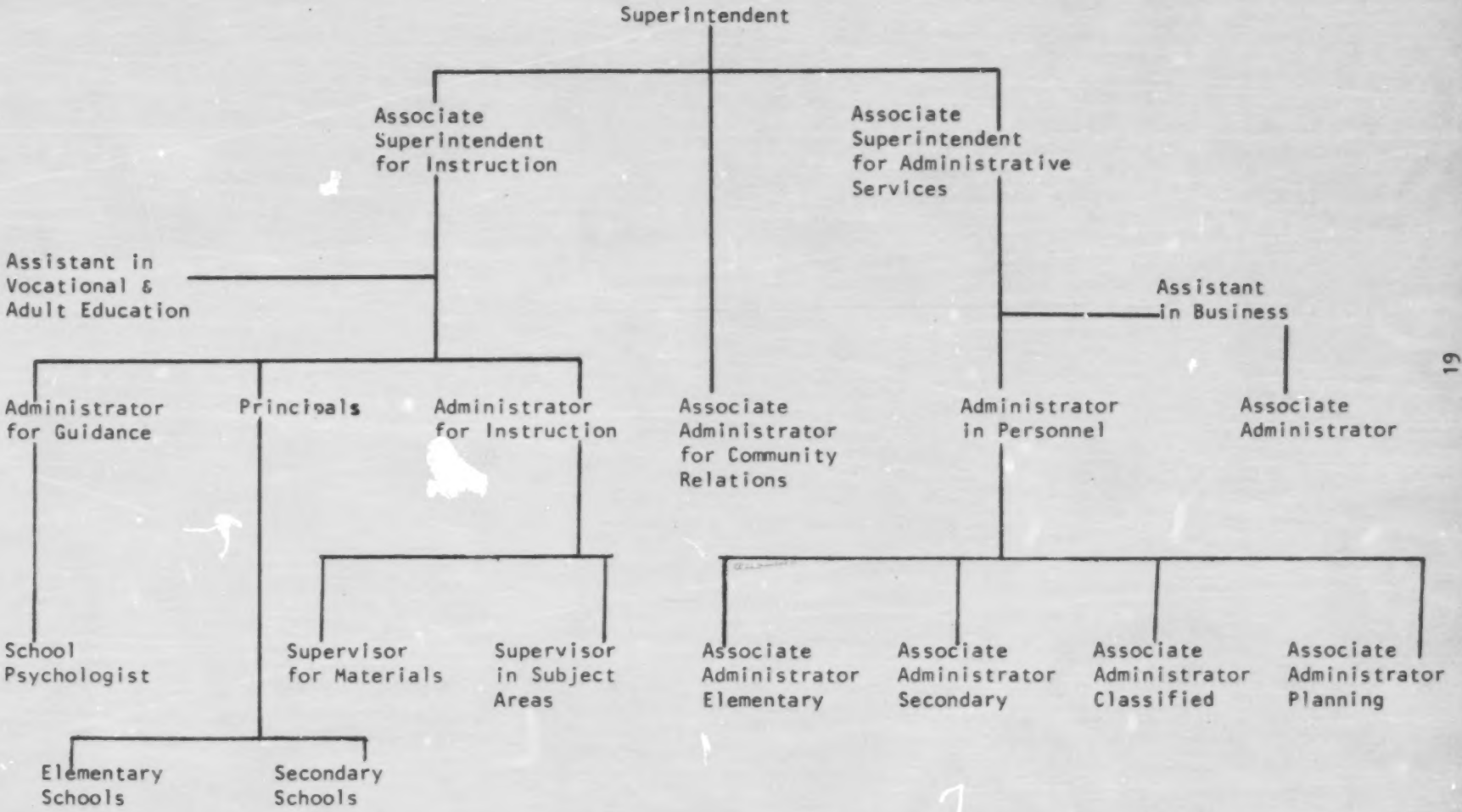
Due to an interesting combination of factors, while the elementary schools all operate on a K-6 system, several junior highs have 7-9 grades

and others 7-8 forcing the high schools to vary from 10-12 or 9-12 grade levels. This patchwork pattern of development resembles the general growth of the Central City area and the school districts in particular. While Central City Unified is a combination of both elementary and secondary schools (the definition of "unified"), the Unified District does not cover the entire city. From fourteen to seventeen other school districts have elementary or secondary schools within the city limits. The legal basis for this is an early 1950's California law which allows cities to annex surrounding communities but not ipso facto the school districts contained within them.

Such segmentation has had mixed results, as the first issue cited below demonstrates. One community in the suburban area of Central City, just south of the downtown, opted for both city annexation to Central City and incorporation into the school district in 1958. This addition makes the School District over twenty-three miles long (North/South) and about two and a half miles wide (East/West). While this balances the District's total ethnic and economic distribution it leaves individual schools seriously de facto segregated. Issue two below discusses this point further.

Before we discuss three crucial issues in the District, we must briefly describe the administrative structure of the School District, (See Chart 1). The organization is typical of much smaller systems. For example, one unified school district which I studied in the Midwest had one-fourth the number of schools and students but the same organizational pattern. A unified school district in California, with double the students and schools, has a much more elaborate organizational structure, yet with far fewer middle-management positions. While comparisons may not be valid, the School District appears to have grown substantially without altering its organizational apparatus to meet that growth.

CHART I


Superintendent
Associate Superintendent for Instruction
Associate Superintendent for Administrative Services
Assistant in Vocational & Adult Education
Assistant in Business
Administrator for Guidance
Principals
Administrator for Instruction
Associate Administrator for Community Relations
Administrator in Personnel
Associate Administrator
School Psychologist
Supervisor for Materials
Supervisor in Subject Areas
Associate Administrator Elementary
Associate Administrator Secondary
Associate Administrator Classified
Associate Administrator Planning
Elementary Schools
Secondary Schools

The present Superintendent came to the position from another local district. He has been Superintendent of the School District since 1971, replacing a man who had served as Superintendent for over twenty years. His predecessor is now an educational lobbyist in the State capital. The conditions for the change-over in power were similar to those throughout the United States in the late 1960's and early 1970's. Turmoil at all levels of education caused high turnovers in the leadership of such public institutions.

The School District clearly encourages local teachers to assume "central office" positions. The District personnel office reports that nearly all administrative positions are filled from within the District. The only recent exception has been as the result of Affirmative Action. As one personnel administrator remarked, however, "those administrators hired under Affirmative Action tend not to last." When asked why, the personnel administrator answered that "either the individuals were uncomfortable in their positions in the District or they got better job offers." He went on to cite several cases illustrating each reason.

Issues in Central City Unified School District

Consider now three important issues which the Unified District faced within the period of this case study. These issues are repeatedly mentioned by District staff and community members and are also given ample space in the local newspaper. They account for important expenditures of money and time by District, City and County officials.

Unification. The first issue, the unification of the various elementary and secondary districts within Central City and throughout the County, has been debated for decades. The issue has become acute now with funding problems and the "taxpayers' revolt." Essentially the positions are outlined

in the following arguments cited from the local newspaper (Central City Times, 1975). On the one hand there is the State Superintendent of Public Schools, who believes "that the solution to financing problems requires reducing the number of school districts in California." He cites the County as being one of the worst examples (one of the top four) with "too many unnecessary school districts."

On the other hand, there is the County School Chief who claims that "increased state aid--not rearranging school districts--is the answer." He cites four reasons: (1) "unified school districts don't cost less to operate"; (2) "voters have defeated the issue repeatedly"; (3) "it would require a lengthy, complicated study and unification could result in increased student segregation"; and (4) "the district could have more employees than it needs."

The issue is also important in California as a result of the landmark California Supreme Court decision of Serrano v. Priest in 1972. That case ended with the Court declaring that it was illegal (unconstitutional) for a school district to base its revenues solely upon property taxes. The Court declared that such a method provided children with unequal education. The property tax being the primary way in which schools raise funds, this decision has caused tremendous turmoil in all of the public school districts in California. Central City Unified has been influenced like the other surrounding districts in the County, increasing the importance of the issue of unification.

Desegregation. The second issue concerns a long court battle in Federal court where members of the Spanish-speaking community sued the Unified District in 1971 over segregation of the schools. The District has maintained that it does not intentionally segregate students. The case had gone through a "10-day trial of the suit (that) ended on August 20, 1975. The attorneys for

the Spanish-speaking community filed their 62-page brief January 13, 1975." The federal judge became "angered" when the County Counsel for the School District failed to submit his findings of fact on time. The judge did rule finally in favor of the School District on January 3, 1976 (Central City Times 1976:1). He argued that segregation was caused by the zoning rules, and the economic factors of the city rather than by the School District.

The issue remains volatile because the schools are clearly segregated. As the material collected on the three schools for the present study demonstrates, an average of 70% of the students are from Spanish-speaking families. The School District authorities recognize the existence of de facto segregation and have instituted the neighborhood school concept. As in other cities, the schools are not the causes of segregation but they are often in a position to prolong de facto segregation because of a combination of factors: they limit social and economic mobility; they enforce and encourage residential and family clustering; and certain schools acquire the stigma of low social status, making it difficult to attract middle class families to the area.

The possibility exists that, since Central City has annexed an affluent suburban community, some integration plan for the school is feasible and the single greatest fear administrators voice is that they will be ordered by the court to integrate the schools. They are fearful of public reaction, as well as the disruption brought on by an imposed integration plan. As of 1978, the entire issue has been quietly avoided by the School District and the Spanish community.

Another aspect of the desegregation lawsuit is worth noting. The federal judge accepted as evidence for the School District, and later based his favorable ruling upon the argument, that the Superintendent had a deliberate philosophy promoting decentralization within the School District. In other

words "neighborhood schools" were the result of the decision to decentralize those school systems. These schools, while acknowledged by the Court and the School District to be segregated, were nonetheless autonomous units run by the school administration, teachers, community, parents, and students. In fact, the administrators typically have the control over their buildings, although there may be some question as to degree
Participation Project is promoting direct teacher influence and control over decision making. Yet while various other State and Federal programs require parental involvement, there is no student participation of any consequence. Furthermore, at best, only a degree of decentralization is a reality. Effective teacher or community control is a long way off.

School Finances. A third issue affecting Central City schools was the passage in the early 1970's of a financial bond to raise money for the construction of new schools needed to meet earthquake standards; and the passage of Proposition 13 (Jarvis-Gann Initiative) limiting property tax. Since 1976 sixteen new schools have been built and three junior highs are in the process of construction. The old buildings have either been torn down or converted to other uses. For example, one old junior high school building was spared demolition due to its Spanish construction and magnificently kept grounds and now houses the adult school program and other special district-wide projects.

Earthquake-resistant schools mostly use "pod" construction where separate buildings cluster both students and staff. The buildings, while impressive in providing a modern educational environment, have been expensive and have made voters reluctant to pass other bonds. The public feels it is already spending too much on education and one community political group proclaims for its motto: "enough is enough." Thus, higher staff salaries and other

increased expenditures that might improve the quality of education within the School District have met with strong voter resistance.

By the spring of 1978, voters revolted throughout the state by passing a constitutional amendment which limited property taxes to their 1975 levels, and only allowed re-assessment at 1% per year and upon sale of property. As a result schools have had to cut back severely and even tenured staff had received lay-off notices by the summer of 1978.

Economic and work difficulties dominate teacher conversations and activities. In the spring of 1977, for instance, teachers staged a "work slow down." They literally refused to do "extra work" such as attending meetings, holding parent conferences, or participating on committees. The tension built dramatically as teachers and administrators barely spoke to one another. At the end of the school year the impasse still existed, and school reopened in the fall against a backdrop of bitterness and ill-feelings.

Summary. These issues have a direct impact upon teacher performance and student learning. School staffs argue with each other. Some mobilize to action while others do nothing. Political conflict flares not only between leaders of opposing groups but also among the membership within each group. From the information gathered about Central City, variations of these issues are perennial sources of debate in each school and among every staff. Year after year, the same thing happens.

What appears to be a common denominator across all these issues and between every school is the feeling that individuals have a lack of control over their daily work and environment. Within the classroom teachers and students have little sense of control over teaching and learning. The same is true of the academic departments, the pods, the buildings, and even the entire School District. Teacher participation in school governance at the building level may hold the answer to a variety of problems and issues.

In the next three chapters, mini-case studies of three separate schools in Central City are presented. Each school met the federal poverty-level guidelines, and was selected for an intensive documentation and research effort. Each chapter is divided into five parts; first, there is an overview of the school and its demographic features; second, a review of the administrative history of the school; third, a description of a critical event that was observed at the school, which illustrates the political problem within the schools being addressed by the TPP Project. Events tend to be more illuminating than the narrative presentation of arguments. Section four discusses the factionalism that exists and continues to flourish within the political structures of the schools. The final section concerns implications for change.

CHAPTER II: THE CASE OF CENTRAL CITY HIGH SCHOOL: THE POLITICS OF FACTIONS

THE CASE OF CENTRAL CITY HIGH SCHOOL: THE POLITICS OF FACTIONS

Demographic Features

Central City High* is the fourth largest high school in the School District with 1,600 students, and has the largest minority-ethnic student population (1,200). Almost 68% of the students attending Central City High School have Spanish surnames. Some smaller numbers of American Indian, Afro-Americans and Asian Americans also attend the school.

Geographically, the school is located close to a busy north-south freeway in the heart of the city's industrial belt. The single family homes which dot the area are typically rented and often subdivided into two or more apartments. Small businesses line the streets and specialize in Mexican-American foods, products, and services.

Administrative History

The changing minority-ethnic population in the School District, from predominantly Anglo to Hispanic over the past five to ten years, has caused some trouble on different school campuses. Fighting among ethnic groups has become more frequent, and vandalism has increased. Ironically, the minority-ethnic composition of Central City High School has remained approximately the same, while the substantive change has been in the school's leadership.

The School District office has made frequent changes in leadership with consequent changes in school policy. For many years, Central City High was run by a "benevolent despot," as one long-time faculty member put it. "This man made policy unilaterally." He was a "law unto himself." He also

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*CCHS chose not to participate in the TPP. It is included in this study because the political issues affecting its life are typical of those found in other high schools and because it provides a contrast to the funded TPP schools.

"respected" the authority of the teacher to pursue a similar policy in the classroom. He was a traditionalist educator who believed in order and control. If these two conditions prevailed, then he felt that he had a "good school." While he was not always liked, he was generally respected by traditional and progressive teachers alike. As one progressive teacher put it, "at least we knew where we stood with him."

Judging by what teachers said, this long-time principal was a "strict disciplinarian." Clearly, many old-guard teachers felt that they could "depend on him" to handle students with behavioral problems. In general, many of the older teachers, of whatever persuasion, tended to look back on his tenure with some nostalgia as the "good old days," when the lines of authority and responsibility were clearly drawn and consistently maintained.

This tranquil situation changed rapidly in 1972. The new Superintendent appointed as principal an educational innovator of Spanish-speaking background. The teachers and counselors described him, almost uniformly, as a "dynamic leader" who was well-liked by his staff. But among some of the newer and younger teachers he was described as lacking any "follow-through." He tended to introduce new ideas and leave it to the faculty and staff to implement them without supplying the necessary resources and support.

After two years, this man took another position in an adjoining school district. While the Central City High School staff respected the principal's imagination and ambition, some felt he had "left us in the lurch." As one progressive teacher of long standing put it, "It's easier to get along with a benelovent despot than a closet authoritarian."

In part, this teacher was disillusioned by the principal's refusal to support the movement for a Faculty Senate.

The Spanish-speaking reformer was followed briefly by an Anglo principal who was promoted from within the staff. This man had previously been a teacher, a counselor, and dean of boys. He was generally perceived as an ineffective administrator. As one Spanish-speaking counselor put it,

> He was afraid to make a decision. He would bluster, isolate himself, make a decision, and find it had no support.

According to another teacher he was "out of his depth." He lacked both "authority and imagination."

During the middle of his second year as principal, this man was transferred to another school. His replacement, the present principal, combines some of the attributes of his predecessors. He is generally seen as being both imaginative and authoritative and he is widely liked and respected. By some, he is seen as a conciliator, and by others as an innovator. In effect, the new principal has become an administrative politician. In other words, he is an administrator who uses political skills to manipulate others to carry out his policies and programs and is skillful in structuring alliances between groups of people for solving interpersonal problems.

A Critical Event: The Spring Crisis Over Student Discipline

A crisis in the late spring of 1976 revealed some of the underlying problems at Central City High. An ethnic-minority male student allegedly physically "attacked" an older Anglo woman teacher. She complained to the principal, and, feeling dissatisfied with the principal's response, she took her case to the local teachers association. The principal was forced to call

an emergency faculty meeting so that this and similar issues could be dealt with openly by all the faculty. The complaining teacher "took over" and confronted the meeting with the need for a more effective student discipline policy. Thereafter, the principal and the deans of boys and girls agreed to patrol the school halls and grounds. A staff committee was formed to develop a new tough procedure for handling discipline of this kind in the future.

The behavior of all the actors was affected by the student's act and the rumors it generated throughout the campus. Emotions ran high as the situation became tense -- as some faculty demanded that the principal do more to control student behavior while other faculty blamed the aggrieved teacher's own behavior. Although a consensus appeared to have developed among the faculty over a new strict discipline policy, there remained an underlying conflict between personal needs and values and institutional goals and methods.

This was revealed by the crisis which demanded immediate and positive action on the part of both teachers and administrators. The emergency faculty meeting became an encounter between the assaulted teacher and the principal. In a long statement to the faculty, this teacher alternatively portrayed herself as victim and martyr. She began her remarks by saying, "This is my home, I have been here for more than twenty years." Then she went on to recount the attempts of a suspended student to retrieve the teacher's photographs of a group of girls "hanging around" on campus. The teacher appealed to the faculty in these terms: "If it can happen to me, why not to you?" The deeper issue became one of pedagogy: who was to

make and enforce student (and staff) disciplinary policy? She went on to say, "I know I am not one of the popular teachers on campus," and then, turning to the principal, she remarked, "I know you don't approve of my (teaching) methods. I am one of those old-fashioned teachers. I am loyal to my school and my principal." But she had been driven to go outside the system for support. She felt that the school administration should provide tough and harsh discipline toward students' misbehavior.

Everyone in the room was no doubt aware that the principal's "go slow and avoid incidents" policy toward students was being challenged. By attentively playing the victim and the martyr, she skillfully manipulated the situation. She symbolized a dilemma felt by others, thereby defining a situation to which others had to respond. It was a dramatic performance by a very frightened and very determined woman that put the faculty and the principal on the "hot seat." Action had to follow; she would see to it.

A number of male teachers volunteered to change classrooms with the aggrieved teacher and others offered to take time off from their classes to patrol the public places around her classroom. As one man put it, "We can handle these kids, even if we have to use baseball bats." The sense of the meeting suggested considerable sympathy and support for a teacher who was isolated physically and suffering emotionally. There was no dissenting comment from those who may have felt more skeptical about her presentation and point of view toward educational pedagogy.

The dean of boys assured the faculty that "the hot-tempered male student had been disciplined," and that he had a "long record of behavioral problems in the school." The principal remained silent for most of this two-hour meeting. At the conclusion of the general discussion, he asked the faculty, "What do you want to do about this?"

The faculty members agreed that they should form a committee over the summer that would work to write a new student discipline policy and procedure, so that in the future everyone would know what to do in a similar situation. At the end of the meeting the principal remarked, with some anger, "Some of you aren't going to like me very much from now on." This seemed to signal the beginning of a "get tough" policy. Counselors reported later that students recognized this "show of force" and order settled over the campus very quickly. In effect, the aggrieved teacher got what she wanted--a firmer student discipline policy on the part of the administration.

In interviews following this faculty meeting we* discovered that this teacher had long been regarded by many counselors as troublesome but not incompetent. Every year, one counselor told us, "her classes were heavily enrolled" but as the term progressed, "students began to drop out and change their schedules." They could not tolerate the rigid standards and verbal abuse which "characterized her classroom." Various attempts had been made to persuade the teacher to be less demanding and more relaxed in her dealings with students. Even the principal had participated in these efforts, which only served to make the teacher more defensive.

After a number of incidents reported by tearful students some members of the staff had begun to push the principal to arrange a transfer for her. The teacher in question was aware of these efforts and they made her all the more defensive. As she became more isolated, physically and emotionally, she decided to fight back. The photographs of girls loitering around her classroom, the encounter with an angry male student, the appeal to the teacher association,

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*My research assistant and I conducted indepth interviews with every faction of the faculty over the next few months. We then repeated the process later in the year as well as observing the behavior of student and staff on the campus.

and the dramatization in the emergency faculty meeting were all part of her determination to take control of a threatening situation. In her own words to the faculty, an "early retirement seemed to be the only way out."

From earlier interviews with him, the principal also found the case of student discipline an impossible situation. His low profile strategy was threatened by campus incidents involving angry and frightened students. His belief that teachers must take more responsibility for student motivation and discipline was another element of the pedagogy that he had demonstrated in a faculty workshop held several months before the emergency faculty meeting. In his asides during that workshop, the principal had noted the human tendency to define situations in terms of the past or the future rather than in terms of the present. This he saw as a way of avoiding a real confrontation with issues, and an ineffective approach to problem solving. Clearly, in many ways he saw teachers as being inclined to "irresponsibility in their expectations of themselves" and to be "unrealistic in their expectations of their administrative leaders." During an interview just prior to the spring emergency faculty meeting he said, "They come in here with their grievances. I listen, and they mistake that for a solution."

Much evidence surfaced in our interviews with teachers to support this point of view. In effect, the principal was resisting the efforts of others to cast him in the role of the ultimate authoritarian and the disciplinarian. By keeping a dialogue in motion, he was always playing back to teachers the question, "What can you do about this problematic situation you have brought to me?" In many respects, the principal had cast himself in the role of therapist in his relations with faculty and students. This was apparent in

his behavior and in walks around the campus with him in the spring, as well as in the winter semester. He had become an advocate for Transactional Analysis, a form of psychotherapy. Perhaps this was one reason he avoided committing Central City High to participation in the Teacher Participation Project sponsored by the local teacher association. Politics and psychotherapy are rather different approaches to problem solving in that the therapeutic view avoids recognition of the existing factionalism within the school. It tends to focus on the individual as being the problem and the one in need of help.

Political Factions

The Superintendent's decentralization policies place the responsibility for effective teaching strategies squarely with the principals and faculties. They have been asked to take the initiative in making changes which will improve the effectiveness of their individual schools. This transfer of power from the Central Office to the school site carries with it a transfer of responsibility. The transfer of power also removes some of the institutional safeguards which protect the school from external intervention and increases the staff's susceptibility to pressure from students and parents to be more imaginative and responsive. This was the setting in which the crisis over student discipline erupted at Central City High School. It is also the setting in which one very popular and successful younger teacher saw an opportunity to press for experimentation in teaching methods and content In effect, she and other like-minded teachers* stand at the opposite pole to

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*For the progressive teachers the situation of the traditionalist teacher has its comic as well as its tragic aspects. As she put it, in a chance encounter after the May faculty meeting, "I hear you want to interview_____. She wonders if you are from the CIA!" (We were not able to arrange an interview with her.)

the traditionalist teachers who made a public issue of the student discipline policy (or lack of it).

It was at her suggestion that I began to look at the Central City High situation in political terms. In the last weeks of the school year two rather clearly defined factions among the staff emerged: the traditionalists and the innovationists. A third and more amorphous group later became apparent, the neutrals. The conflict between the clearly defined factions centered on educational philosophy and resultant political strategies. Each faction is struggling to define and control the academic standards and student opportunities in the school.

The traditionalists believe that achievement can be measured in terms of more objective standards, while innovators favor "individualized" or subjective learning. Traditionalists seem to value "discipline" and competition, while innovationists are more concerned with "self-motivation" and the exercise of imagination. The factions also tend to be constituted in terms of older vs. younger and established vs. newer faculty, although there are noteworthy exceptions to this.

In effect, each faction adheres to a well-recognized and well-defined ideology which has both pedagogical and psychological support throughout the research and philosophical literature. However, given the external pressures upon the school and the faculty, they seemed to have had trouble co-existing, thus producing a "win/lose" situation. This explains much of the threat the older teacher perceived in the emergency faculty meeting.

The neutrals tend to stand outside this direct factional struggle. They share some of the values and some of the attitudes of both the innovationists and the traditionalists. Those neutrals we interviewed have an

overriding concern to end the chaos which has been induced by institutional and academic changes but tend to feel isolated and ineffective. While they are ready to speak out, they feel that they are not really heard by their colleagues and thus frequently remain silent. Their chief political efforts are directed toward the creation of some process or machinery which would facilitate dialogue and decision making, preferably on a majority rule basis. It was one of them who said: "Nobody knows why the school decided to stay out of the Teacher Participation Project or even who made the final decision on this issue."

They also remembered clearly how earlier principals had refused to go along with the idea of a Faculty Senate which would have been given the power to make decisions, particularly on matters involving the curriculum and teaching methods. The neutral informants also argued that the principal's low profile strategy created chaos and conflict, although they personally liked and respected him. From their point of view, he is an ineffective administrator because he seems incapable of leading the faculty out of their confusion into order. Clearly, this expectation conflicts with the principal's own belief that the faculty must solve its own problems. His commitment to "therapeutic" solutions conflicts with the neutrals' commitment to "political" methods.

The neutrals' dilemma is made more striking because the neutrals that we interviewed are generally recognized as highly competent and very effective teachers. They belong to two of the strongest departments in the faculty. They are articulate and assertive in other contexts, yet they feel isolated and impotent when it comes to creating the governmental structures they support. Their approach to conflict-resolution, which

would entail the creation of a more effective and more respected decision-making structure than the Principal's Advisory Council, is ignored. As one informant, who is also a department head, put it,

> "We just try to get through each day. Every day brings a new crisis. We are lucky if we survive day-to-day."

The neutrals also view the principal's policy of naming ad hoc committees to process problems and make recommendations as time consuming and unproductive. In effect, they would prefer to work through an institutionalized decision-making structure which could muster its own support, and process issues more rapidly and effectively. They object to the role playing of the principal, as well as that of the innovationists and the traditionalists. It is from the ranks of the neutrals that we heard objections to the "cloaked authoritarianism" of the principal.

Implications for Change

The pedagogical implications of the crisis over student discipline were important. The district's policies of decentralization and innovation had placed the resolution of the crisis in the hands of the staff at Central City High School. Two distinct factions had formed around opposing beliefs and values: the innovationalists and the traditionalists. They divided with regard to their views of student discipline, as well as their concepts of teaching methods and approaches. While the innovationists tended to stress more self-determined discipline and more educational options, the traditionalists tended to view this "new wave" as a challenge to their old approaches and methods. They placed the primary responsibility for learning on the student while the teacher's primary responsibility was professional competency.

In this polarized situation the neutralist group tends to believe in student discipline and teacher innovation. They are also very concerned about the presence of factionalism in the school and the inability to resolve the conflicts which have created chaos, i.e., the kind of "day-to-day crisis" situation which exists.

Put another way, there is a political struggle for power being waged at Central City High School. The object of this struggle is to impose a solution upon a changing situation in accord with the interests and values held by the various factions. Related to this struggle are the larger questions of who is responsible for what, and how to maintain the professional esteem and self-respect of each individual. These kinds of political issues are currently a national as well as a local concern in an era when the effectiveness of educational institutions generally is being questioned.

A governance structure, like the Teacher Participation Project, is designed to help solve some of the school's internal chaos. An orderly approach to problem solving would certainly make the latent politics of Central City High School more manifest and open. Perhaps the school could then operate more effectively on an organizational, rather than on a personal and factional level.

CHAPTER III: THE CASE OF JOHN ADAMS MIDDLE SCHOOL: THE POLITICS OF CONFLICT

JOHN ADAMS MIDDLE SCHOOL:*
THE POLITICS OF CONFLICT

The Teacher Participation Project came to John Adams Middle School in the early days of the federal funding. Three tenured teachers who attended an orientation meeting on the project liked the idea and formed a "team to get it in our school." As one of the original group said:

> The whole concept was just what we needed. We were a new faculty thrown together from two separate schools that were torn down. We needed to get together.

She became the first president of the Faculty Council and an active spokesperson for the staff. Another teacher from the original group (which was called a triad**) later became the project co-director and a member of the Consortium which ran the project in its third and final year. The other member of this original group was active for its first year and then dropped out. He reported later that he had had high expectations for the project but was disappointed in its outcome. He felt that some people used it to "gain personal power and status." By the end of three years, the Faculty Council had a constitution and was solving substantive problems. However, the road to that point was rocky and frustratingly slow. The story of John Adams Middle School demonstrates just how gradual yet turbulent instituting new governance structures can be.

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* A middle school and a junior high school are both considered secondary as opposed to elementary schools. The difference between the two is that the former usually includes only two grade levels (7th and 8th grades) and feeds into a four year high school. The later includes three grade levels (7th, 8th, and 9th) with students going on to a three year senior high school

**These and other technical terms will be discussed in greater detail in Chapters V and VI.

Demographic Features

John Adams Middle School sends its graduating students to Central High School. There are 800 students at John Adams, approximately 70% of whom are Spanish-surnamed. Eighty certified teachers staff the building on a full-time basis. The school is for seventh and eighth grade students who go on to Central City for the ninth grade.

From the outside, John Adams gives the appearance of being an upper middle class school surrounded by shade trees, with wide green athletic fields located at the back of the campus. The school is built in pods, or square-shaped one-story buildings. Each pod contains a department of study; a departmental office with separate classrooms radiating out from it. The classrooms have movable walls and fixtures.

Yet John Adams Middle School is located in the center of the "ghetto" of Central City. A heavily traveled street borders the north end of the school and another main traffic artery marks off the western boundary of the playing field. A move is afoot to replace some of the small homes which border the school on its other two sides with stores and banks. Parents and school staff attempted to block such a move by one bank to build a branch in the winter of 1977, but they were unsuccessful. Meanwhile, many of the homes are being rented and subdivided by absentee landlords; hence more families live within a relatively small geographical area. The children of these families attend John Adams. The neighborhood is overshadowed by the high rise city and county buildings only two blocks away. The area is "in transition", a code word for neighborhood decay.

Administrative History

Adams Middle School was completed in 1972. At that time, two separate junior high school staffs were combined to make the Adams' faculty. The other schools were not earthquake safe and had to be replaced. Each building is distinctive and constructed to allow for multi-purpose classes and team teaching. They reflect the basic philosophy of the Superintendent who, since 1971, has made every effort to decentralize and innovate at the school building level.

The combination of two school faculties produced severe problems and conflicts despite the attractive new facility. Separate histories and old friendships tended to isolate and divide the two staffs. While the departmentalized pods brought certain people together, the new alliances were based upon professional and educational needs rather than personal and social relationships. The patterns at the former schools, according to their staff members, had been those of a "large closely knit family." The new pattern in a larger building with more staff and students created more formality and hostility. Conflicts arose over petty issues; morale suffered; and student learning declined.

Into this environment the Superintendent appointed a new Anglo principal. He was not from either of the former schools and was clearly assigned to take a strong hand in "shaping up" the combined staffs, which he did. One of the most common references to him had to do with his "toughness" both on students and staff. Most of the faculty welcomed that "firm hand." As one teacher put it: "He wasn't an innovator or creative person, but at least you knew where he stood." Several other teachers and some parents felt the same way.

The faculty, students, and parents all seemed to sense and know their limits. A complacency set in, the school operated well but with little

innovation or creativity. After two years problems that were latent now became manifest. Conflict among faculty members and departments increased and came out into the open. Student behavior "got abominable", remarked one teacher. Everyone seemed to blame the ensuing turmoil on the other person.

Finally, the Superintendent and his staff determined the problem to be a rift between the school and community. That is, the changing neighborhood brought in more minority (Spanish-surnamed) families. Their children needed new role models and a different curriculum based upon their cultural heritage.

A Spanish-surnamed male principal was appointed in 1974. He had been a vice-principal intern at an elementary school in the district and, just prior to his appointment at Adams School, he had been a vice-principal at a junior high school in the district. According to informed sources in the Central office, his administrative background and his interest in pluralistic curriculum seemed to make him an ideal candidate for Adams Middle School. The match turned out to be less than perfect. In fact, the new principal compounded the problem.

For one thing, he was "not really into being a secondary school principal", as he put it:

> I like the elementary level much better. The kids are exciting and alive. They are eager to learn. Above all the faculty takes direction and cooperates.

He was reflecting back on his last two and a half years at Adams Middle School and he was also thinking ahead. The Superintendent had offered him a position as principal in an elementary school "as soon as it became available." In a separate interview, the Superintendent confirmed the arrangement.

As he phrased it, the Latino principal simply found the middle school "too complex" and hence "confining." Therefore, the students and faculty were "more difficult to work with and around." He had some "exciting and

creative ideas about changes for an elementary school", but found similar changes for Adams to be "too difficult to pull off." He opted instead "to work at changes piecemeal." He preferred to approach problems in the larger middle school in manageable segments. His strategy was "to try something in one area and then another." He would "line up allies on the staff" and then "push for the changes." The strategy simply further confirmed the perspective of some staff members that "he plays favorites" and that "he has no concern for me and what I'm doing." The staff became even further alienated, frustrated, and angry.

Ironically, he had been appointed to the principalship because of the changing ethnicity of the school. His former principal was made an assistant to the Superintendent and had advised that a Latino would be able to placate the increasingly militant Spanish-speaking community. Little or no thought went into faculty and student relationships. The principal came to be seen as an ethnic token.

Unfortunately, the conception of the principal's own professional desires and skills contributed to the chaos in the schools. Local voices had been ignored and a solution was imposed from the top school district officials, without a full understanding of the problems. This mismatch of principal to school only added to the conflict.

The situation got progressively worse over the three year period of the documentation and research. Despite the presence of the Teacher Participation Project, the faculty polarized and solidified into factions. Adams School was one of the first schools to create and adopt a faculty constitution. However, in the initial stages, the school constitution contributed to driving people apart. Individuals tried to dominate and control the Faculty Council.

The politics of change at Adams School revolved around the deliberate struggles by staff members for personal power. A good example can be seen in the role of one vice-principal, an Anglo woman in her late thirties. She was one of the few administrators whose appointment carried over from the older school to Adams when the two faculities merged. She had been a Spanish teacher, but was a vice-principal both at the old school and at Adams.

The new Latino principal brought into his administration a friend whom he also appointed as a vice-principal to serve as a "hatchet man" for the principal who took on the posture of a friend to all and a nice guy. The principal characterized himself as simply: "a change agent. Others would worry about the details." To the hard-driving female vice-principal, this meant that the principal was "weak and unable to make decisions."

She thus competed for power with her counterpart, the male vice-principal, and the Teacher Participation Project became a factor in this power struggle. The teachers themselves wanted a share of the power believing that they should make, or have a substantial part in making, decisions within the school. Indeed this was a major motivation for embracing TPP. The female vice-principal found this an exploitable opportunity to gain her goal and win the teachers over to her side. Her strategy was: "Fine. I'll work with you."

This strategy worked well at first, as long as the teachers' demands for power were focused upon marginal issues, which was the case in the initial stages of drawing up the faculty constitution and in the formation of the Faculty Council as we will see later. However, when the faculty moved into areas that the vice-principal felt were her responsibility "all hell broke loose," as one teacher remarked, "she freaked-out and acted crazy."

At one point for example, the female vice-principal issued a memo which said in effect what her role was and that the council had better stay away. Interestingly enough, she saw herself "as the school's principal." So did many of the faculty and when the Faculty Council felt that it had intruded into her power domains, it did "back off."

Teacher Participation in decision making through a school Constitution and Council posed a real threat to the vice-principal's power. Here was a person who "ran the school", yet a few teachers began to challenge that authority and power. The critical event came over the establishment of a bilingual program in the school. The vice principal attempted to orchestrate and implement a new program under her total control and ignored the faculty decision-making process. In the end, she failed. She was transfered two years later.

A Critical Event: The Bilingual Bicultural Program. The United States Supreme Court ruled in Lau vs. Nichols (1975) that school districts must provide equal opportunities to non-native speakers of English; and the state governments had to respond. The State legislature enacted a bill (AB2284) that required the school districts to have multicultural and multilingual programs. The act became part of the Education Code as Section 3.3 (which became its nickname). Since most local school boards did not have the resources to comply, the State made available the necessary funds for workshops, staff, materials, etc.

In order to get these funds the local school districts had to create programs. At the beginning of the 1976-77 academic year, the Central City School District held several meetings for those school staff members who might be interested in creating a program. A group at Adams Middle School, under the leadership of the woman vice-principal who had been a Spanish

teacher prior to becoming an administrator, expressed such an interest. She became the chairperson of a Task Force on Bilingual Education in the winter of 1976 to seek about $30,000 in State funds for developing a bilingual program. The Task Force was put in touch with one of the State Department of Education consultants in bilingual education and began its work.

A meeting dealing with bilingual e ucation at which a State consultant spoke was held in late winter at the school for all staff members. According to the female vice-principal, the consultant left the impression with the faculty that (1) bilingual education was now required in every subject area; and (2) all school instruction had to include a bilingual component. This interpretation was a misunderstanding and led to an increase in tension in the school.

The Task Force was composed of interested volunteer staff members. According to opponents of the proposed program, those who participated were "all new young teachers and aides with no tenure." This was largely true. As one teacher put it, "The Task Force has all the radicals in it." This may or may not have been true. Except for the chairperson, almost everyone who was active in the Task Force had a Spanish surname. While other Anglo teachers were listed as participants, they rarely attended meetings. The group was all female and about half of the members were non-teaching staff.

The Task Force wanted to involve the total culture of the bilingual student, and the proposed Bilingual Program was expanded to include both bilingual and bicultural material. The program was defined as using:

> ...the student's home language and culture (example: Spanish or Portuguese) in teaching, maintaining, and further developing the necessary skills in the student's home language while introducing, maintaining and developing all the necessary skills in the second language and culture (example: English). The end result is a student who can function totally in both languages and cultures (Parent Survey, Spring 1976:1).

The program would be directed primarily toward Spanish-speaking students who composed roughly 55% of the Adams School population.

The concentration upon Spanish as the only bilingual component of the Adams program emerged as an issue in early May. The programs for the Multicultural Week at the school were all Spanish-oriented. The Faculty Council meeting minutes reflected the problem:

> A concern was expressed that Multicultural Week assembly did not include more cultural groups. It was explained that although other groups were to participate, they were not able to (emphasis in original Minutes, May 24, 1976:1).

At one of the Faculty Council meetings in late spring, the entire issue of the Bilingual Program was officially raised. The Task Force had never gone before the Faculty Council for the purposes of either information or approval of its plans. Many council members were upset that they had not been consulted. The entire governance process had been circumvented. A decision was reached that the "error will not occur in the future" (Minutes, May 24, 1976:1)

Tensions, however, had been building prior to this meeting. In early April, two women teachers from Adams School, one of whom was the president of the Faculty Council and head of the English Department, were asked to go to a conference on bilingual education held in Texas. The conference came soon after the State consultant had led the entire Adams' staff to believe that bilingual education had a pre-determined direction built into it. The English Department was a major pocket of resistance to bilingual education for two reasons. The English teachers thought that (1) the Task Force had failed to go through the Faculty Council and did not use the Adams School Constitution; and (2) Spanish would replace the English language as the major mode of instruction at the school.

In regard to the first issue, the English Department contained much of the dynamic teacher leadership within the school. The president of the Council and the representative to the Teacher Participation Project Policy Committee were both English Teachers. These teachers, who were outspoken and articulate, were also original members of the team that got Adams School committed to the Teacher Participation concept. The second issue arose from rumor and poor staff communication. In fact, the rumor that English would be replaced by Spanish was so prevalent among these teachers that it was a constant topic of conversation in the English Department office.

The confusion and conflict over the Task Force's Bilingual Program reached its greatest intensity just prior to the late May Faculty Council meeting. By May, the chairperson of the Task Force (the female vice-principal) was forced to write a clarifying memo. In it she said:

> It seems to me that a lot of information and misinformation is being passed around and there seems to be a lot of anxiety and concern. I would like to ease some of it, if possible, and provide some hopefully accurate information (Memo, May 20, 1976:1).

She went on to review the background of the Task Force and the program proposal. She pointed out that the State consultant had specifically said that the program should "not encompass the total school, all curriculum, all teachers and all students..." (May 20, 1976:1). She felt that some of the Task Force members had been in favor of total school participation, while other non-Task Force staff members were against it. Hence, conflict among the teachers arose in part as a result of the Task Force's own confusion over its goals and purposes.

For example, the State consultant, according to the chairperson of the Task Force, reviewed the requirements of the state law (AB2284) as:

1. The program participants are involved on a voluntary basis.
2. The goal is fluency in English as a second language.
3. The goal is also to increase student's self-esteem.
4. 60% of the participants are other-language dominant, 40% are English-dominant (Memo, May 20, 1976:1).

In short, the vice-principal chairperson paraphrased the State consultant by suggesting that Adams should "begin in a classroom or two in the 'core pontoon' which is defined as a two-or three-period block with emphasis in English and other language skills, social studies, or math" (May 20, 1976:1). She went on to identify several interested staff members who were working on the proposed curriculum. The word "begin" still bothered a number of people because to them it implied that more and more classrooms would later have to be bilingual.

Despite the memo, personal assurances, the Faculty Council meeting, etc., people were still upset. In large part, the idea and philosophy of bilingual education had not been clarified. The clearest statement came out in the Parent Survey developed by the Task Force which, however, did not go to the staff as an informational item. Although translated into Spanish, the Parent Survey yielded only a 10% return rate. The goals of the Bilingual and Bicultural Education Program were stated in the survey as:

- To develop in each student the ability to maximize his potential as an individual, as a learner, and as a citizen in a multilingual/multicultural society.

- To enrich and deepen mutual understanding for all citizens by building upon the rich multicultural foundations of our society. (The learners' unique environment and experiences are the cornerstones of these foundations.)

- To promote cultural acceptance, national pride, and world understanding.

- To offer a curriculum that meets the diverse needs of pupils with the different language and cultural orientations in order to permit them to:

- preserve and strengthen their self-image and sense of dignity through appropriate and meaningful instructional programs.
- utilize their first language as a medium of instruction to avoid premature experiences with the second language which could be detrimental to learning that language.
- develop pride in self, school, and community.
- learn to interact in a multilingual, multicultural, social setting.
- develop English communication skills among the non-speakers of English to a level comparable with native speakers of English of the same age and ability.
- develop incentive to remain in school, succeed and prepare for future undertakings.
- acquire the academic tools to pursue post-secondary education (Parent Survey, Spring, 1976:1).

With these goals in mind, the Task Force proposed a budget of $29,982 for one year. Included were one full-time community liaison person, a half-time clerical person, a full-time instructional aide, and funds for consultants, parents, paraprofessionals, and travel. The faculty remained isolated from the formulation of the Bilingual Program and suspicion grew. Finally, when the plan was announced, reactions were generally negative. One teacher said, "We're being manipulated by the administration." She implied that it was another instance, among many, and that the motivation came from an "ambitious vice-principal" who wanted to "make her mark." Another teacher noted how the Faculty Council had been avoided in the entire process of putting together a proposal. She also pointed out that the Bilingual Conference in Texas had given bilingual education a different definition and emphasis. Spanish was seen as a second language and as a cultural tool to learning. As one teacher put it, "there has been utter confusion. We have no clear information." She went on to say that the Task Force "chairperson was attempting to make us feel guilty."

Not all comments about bilingual education were negative. The chairperson of the Task Force explained her action in not involving the Faculty Council as stemming from her perception that (1) the present Task Force structure was more expedient; (2) the topic of bilingual education only concerned certain people; and (3) the Faculty Council was ineffective. She felt that the "teachers (on the Faculty Council) were not committed." While being disappointed with most of the teachers, she knew that some teachers (and other non-teaching staff members) would work hard on this program. A supportive teacher echoed these sentiments. She felt that "some teachers gave off negative body language" to the suggestion of anything new and different. Her view was that the vice-principal was an ambitious leader but sensitive to student needs. The program was "sorely needed."

A non-teaching employee (Spanish-surnamed) seemed to have one of the most insightful perspectives. This employee saw biculturalism and bilingualism as being not only Spanish-English but Oriental and Afro-American. She tended to see culture as a significant part of language skills. "There is too much emphasis on bilingualism," was her view, "for the wrong reasons." She felt that it was essential for the Spanish-speaking students to learn English as rapidly as possible while maintaining their cultural heritage. She was upset because the Faculty Council had been bypassed in the formation and proposal stages of the Bilingual/Bicultural Program. She was, parenthetically, a member of both the Task Force, and the Faculty Council.

Factionalism in Schools

Three useful observations can be made from reviewing the development of the Bilingual Program within the context of the Teacher Participation project's role in decision making.

The first observation concerns the factionalism and conflict that emerged. The school staff were at odds with each other over the issues involved in establishing the Bilingual Program. Not only did various groups conceptualize the issues differently, but they also chose to react to different aspects of them. Some saw the proposed program as administratively imposed, others felt it was detrimental to ethnic social mobility while still others thought it was the panacea for all the school's problems. Even within factions individuals perceived the proposed program differently and they acted upon their definitions and interpretations of the program. The program's own goals were so elusive and lofty that it provided something for everyone to attact or praise.

Another observation centered on the program itself, since it was apparently conceived and proposed outside of the school's own working constitution. The staff had agreed to work one way, yet this program went off in another direction that circumvented the established procedures. All of this activity happened just as a group of the faculty had proposed to work collaboratively to create a Teacher Center. As a result of the Bilingual Program turmoil, the staff insisted upon revising the school constitution. Talk circulated about who had power and control within the school. People now claimed that the constitution was not working and was inadequate. It had to be changed. The antagonists were ready to do battle for the next year over the real issue here--who was to have power in the school.

The last observation about the program is that it was designed to solve a problem: a large proportion of students speaking Spanish as a native language were at an educational disadvantage. There is a legitimate question as to whether or not the proposed programmatic response will solve the problem or simply lead to others.

The proposed program had already caused other problems throughout the school. The program was only an initial step and was still vague and generalized, with details to be worked out over the summer. The program was unilaterally designed by the vice-principal who had initiated and managed it. Teachers were asking basic pedagogical questions: Can programs solve problems? Can small programs make a significant impact? Can administrators act virtually alone in solving school problems? Where does change come from? All these questions arise from the one query, is this program the right and appropriate response to a particular problem?

Implications for Change

As we will see later, the Faculty Council at Adams School had evolved over a two year period into an elected group of representatives relegated to making petty decisions. At one time, the Council spent an entire hour debating about the "Coke" machine; where it should go; who should get the money from it; and the size of the bottles. Substantive issues and problems were never addressed in a two year period. Then in January of 1977 the new Council chairperson and one representative "stuck their necks out" as they put it. They demanded "information on the school budget" and "input into hiring a new principal." The Council succeeded in both issues to have a substantial voice in decisions. The attempt to channel the latent politics of the school into a more manifest and structured organization worked. Once the Council addressed and solved major school-wide issues, new problems showed themselves. The most direct problem became the political struggle over power in the school. For some staff members, the new-found power of the Faculty Council was threatening, or too late, or not enough. The former president of the Faculty Council, for example, resigned in anger. She then became the head

of her department and in that role, she ignored the Council, which she had helped build, and put pressure on the principal for personal and departmental favors. The principal complied. Not only did she get assigned a small teaching load but her department got more funds for books.

When asked why she now relied on departmental political power, she responded with two reasons.

> In the first place, the Council takes too much time to do too little. And also it simply does not have the power.

Her behavior was pragmatic. Get what you can for yourself and your interest group. She apparently had learned to maneuver within the political structure of the school.

On another level, there are implications for changing the latent political behavior of staff members that relate directly to the teaching/planning process. As the data suggest, the everyday politics of the school caused not only serious staff conflict, but also disrupted student learning. Clearly, the academic environment at the school was hampered as month after month, conflict over programs erupted.

Without some stable process in which individuals and groups can channel their problems, sustained and creative solutions are never forthcoming. And even when these mechanisms are in place, it takes time for substantive issues to emerge, and for people to become willing to deal with them. Meanwhile conflictual politics is the normative behavior for staff (and students) at Adams Middle School.

CHAPTER IV: THE CASE OF VALLEJO ELEMENTARY SCHOOL: THE POLITICS OF FACTIONALISM

Vallejo Elementary School: The Politics of Factionalism

To parents, educators, students, and the public, the neighborhood elementary school stands as a symbol of learning achievement and success. Students perform better on standardized tests in the elementary grades. Parents participate more in school activities and the public points with pride to its neighborhood school, often surrounded by a playground and a park. The teachers and administrators usually behave as if they were "one big happy family."

Even in the inner-cities across America the elementary school is like a second home to teachers, students and even parents. Frequently it is a center of social activity, not only a bastion for learning, but also the center of community life. It is typically smaller than secondary schools, having fewer students and teachers. The immediate neighborhood is the residence and the playground for its students.

While the above is a widely held image of American elementary schools, under the surface the reality is often quite different. This chapter documents this "reality" by describing some aspects of the politics of Vallejo Elementary School.

Seven hundred students attended Vallejo Elementary School in 1976-77, ranging across pre-school, kindergarten, and grades one through six. About 77% of the students were Spanish-surnamed. The remaining are of Portuguese and Oriental backgrounds. Over 600 students (or 91%) are considered "needy" and receive special breakfast and lunch programs.

Thirty-one classroom teachers comprise the certified staff of the school. Twenty-eight classified employees run other school-related programs

as well as provide administrative support and act as teacher aides. As of 1977, at least thirty special programs were operating within the school.

The school is located in the heart of the industrial belt of Central City. Although a large park borders the school's southern boundary, a new city library takes up much of the former open space area. The immediate neighborhood consists of single family homes with a few stores catering to Mexican-Americans. Many of the homes are rentals and a growing number are being subdivided to house more than one family.

Beyond the immediate vicinity of the school, large industrial plants which sprawl for several blocks in all directions, dominate the area. Two railroad tracks cut across the neighborhood and truck traffic, which is often heavy, uses the two one-way streets which comprise the east and west boundaries of the school.

Despite the school's location, the physical facility is attractive and decorative. The main building is spacious and inviting with a large mural outside displaying Latino pride. The attached buildings are smaller structures with self-contained classrooms. The pre-school program operates in a separate two-story building across a short patio area.

A definite sense of community ownership of the school is evident. For example, a group of parents organized themselves to provide supervision for the nutrition break and lunchtime activities of the students. Because of their successful efforts, the teachers noticed a substantial lessening of student physical aggressiveness. Pushing, shoving, and fighting appeared to wane.

The school has many of the demographic characteristics that are typical of urban schools. The students come from multicultural backgrounds; the buildings, while attractive, are relatively old; and there are a staggering number of competing programs associated with special interest groups and the resulting set of competing pressures on school personnel.

Administrative History

In 1975, a Spanish-speaking administrator from a nearby school district became the new principal of Vallejo Elementary School. The new principal, who was young and innovative, had been an assistant principal at a junior high school. He believed in shared decision making, and creative programs for children as well as being receptive to the ideas of the TPP.

Every school has a distinctive history and background; Vallejo Elementary School is no different. The new principal entered a school that had just become accustomed to his predecessor, a middle-aged Oriental man who "ran a tight ship." As one teacher characterized him:

> Everything was orderly and done by the book. He got the opinions of a few people, but insisted on telling everyone what to do. He was not so much an authoritarian as a paternalistic figure.

This teacher went on to note that this principal never sought the opinions of the entire staff. Instead he confided only in a few people. "His clique" became politically powerful in the school.

When the word got out that the Oriental principal was leaving for the principalship of a suburban school within the school district, the small clique of teachers and some parents demanded that he stay. They thought that the principal had been unwillingly transferred and they were shocked. "Everyone in the school," they felt, "thought that the principal did a good job and

liked the school." As a result of the staff and parent protest to the School Board about the principal's transfer the truth was revealed. The principal, himself, had requested the transfer. According to some sources, he felt that it was "a move up" if he became the principal of a suburban school.

This story is common in urban schools. What is unusual about Vallejo Elementary School, however, is the fact that most of the teachers have stayed on despite the incident. Few have either requested or received transfers. According to several remaining teachers, those that have transferred did so for reasons other than status or upward mobility. "The Vallejo staff is devoted and concerned," they reported.

Nonetheless student academic achievement, as in many urban schools, lags. Teachers see the non-teaching demands of their jobs as one of the problems. The situation in the Vallejo School illustrated their point. Over the past decade, dozens of programs have been implemented at Vallejo. These programs tend to be initiated as a reaction to the problems of the larger society and often require additional non-teaching (or administrative) work for teachers. Consider the problems that such an influx of programs poses for students from the perspective of one pupil.

Carmella, at age four, was placed in Vallejo's pre-school program. English was her second language. Her mother was intermittently employed and her father was a migrant seasonal field worker who was rarely at home. Carmella qualified for the federally funded Follow Through pre-school program. About eight other children were included in this particular program. As Carmella

went into kindergarten, she also became part of the State legislated Early Childhood Education (ECE) program in the school. She was now in ECE but still subject to evaluations and demands of Follow Through.

In the first grade her performance on standardized tests was slightly above grade level. By the time Carmella reached fourth grade, her achievement was at grade level. Now, however, she was also in several other programs. ECE had ended in third grade. But multicultural and bilingual education had begun and New Math was introduced. Meanwhile she continued to struggle with speaking and writing English.

At her graduation in the sixth grade, Carmella was still reading at the fourth grade level and doing math at the third grade level. Her behavior in school "had gotten bad." Her mother was "called in several times for parent conferences." Carmella started secondary school with several strikes against her.

The sequence of events surrounding Carmella's gradual failure in school are not atypical. She was literally pushed between differing programs, interests, and goals, none of which met her particular needs. With each program claiming that it had the answer to student learning and achievement, the individual student gets lost and confused. Carmella was the rule, the norm, not the exception. Unlike many, however, she rebelled and revolted against the school. She "acted out" as one teacher said, "rather than just suffering quietly."

The new principal stepped into this confusing and confounding situation at Vallejo Elementary School and he decided to watch and wait during his first year. "I wanted to get a total picture of the school and the community." What became

increasingly clear was the need to provide leadership, not just administration, for the school and to elicit and encourage staff participation in decision making. While the principal is:

> The final decision maker. After all, it's my legal responsibility. But I believe in getting other people's opinions. I want the staff, the parents, and others to be part of the process.

Forces within the school that pointed to change converged. Over a period of time, the need to provide a mechanism for faculty participation in decision making became apparent. The new principal gave his full support to that effort.

The Critical Events

In many schools, one critical event sparks some collective action. But as one teacher at Vallejo Elementary School said, "We just don't do things like that." She meant that there were crises and problems but none that led directly to some concerted staff action. The issue of devising and putting into use a faculty constitution could not be directly linked to a single event. The need arose from several different events or issues.

Perhaps the action for developing a faculty governance process came most directly from the appointment of the new principal. As with all appointments in the School District, the central office dictated who the new principal would be. Over the years, the selection policy had never been challenged. Even the selection of new teachers and the transfer of others was handled by the central office.

For the first year, the new principal observed the faculty, students, and the community, and they observed him. During that year there was a

stand-off. Everyone was nice, responsive and, as the teachers said, "professional." Beneath this "proper behavior", however, everyone was watching the other. Then, in the new principal's second year he made two dramatic decisions.

First, he began to actively participate in the Teacher Participation Project workshops. Of the three teachers who originally started the project in the school only one remained, the other having been transferred. Unfortunately, the remaining teacher was not certified at the time and not part of the regular school staff. She needed support for the teacher participation concept and the new principal gave it to her.

His appearance at workshops and his backing of the program at the school meant that other teachers were encouraged to participate. "If it was okay with the principal, then it was all right for me," was a typical comment. Other teachers began to go to workshops and participate in the writing of a school constitution. While skepticism remained among most of the staff, the taboo against teacher involvement had been broken and it became acceptable behavior for the staff.

Second, the principal deliberately dismantled the old power bloc that had advised and supported the former principal. This clique held enormous power and served as an informal advisory council. All its members were selected and appointed by the old principal. There had been no apparent concern for representation across grade levels, fields, programs, or whatever. This small group, with the principal, had made the decisions on how the school would operate.

From the evidence, it is clear that the former principal was not a weak administrator; he performed his bureaucratic functions well but he did lack leadership ability which the small clique supplied. They formulated and directed school policy. This process created a problem for the staff which saw this small group as acting in their own individual interests. Much of the confusion within the school over programs, scheduling, student achievement, allocation of resources, etc. stemmed from the clique's influence on the former principal. Each member of the group would vie for power and, while a compromise would eventually be worked out, the staff as a whole was excluded from the process.

The new principal moved to abolish this secretive process. For example, the Early Childhood Education program had always had an Advisory Committee appointed by the principal. In 1976 the new principal insisted that all members of the Advisory Committee be elected by their peers. Reaction to this plan was swift. Almost every faculty member approved of the idea, except for the clique members. They opposed the idea, but not directly or publicly. Instead, they attacked the principal for lack of leadership and accused him of being "indecisive" and "unaware of the problems of elementary school children." Nevertheless, the election took place and a new ECE Committee was formed. For the first time the members of the Advisory Committee had a sense of ownership in the Early Childhood Education program and realized their responsibility to the entire staff, and not just to a chosen few.

The new principal had not only violated traditional school decision-making processes, but also he had threatened the overall School District

procedure. For years the School District, and by way of a ripple effect the individual schools, had operated under a very centralized decision-making process. To open up the process went against the traditions of the School District despite the directives of the new Superintendent in which decentralization and shared decision making were now explicit policy. The new principal was following these directives by challenging traditional practice. Breaking the established patterns of behavior was difficult, partly because the staff was not used to its newly won freedom to express itself and participate in making decisions, and partly because the traditional power elite wanted to retain its control and influence.

By 1977, the staff at Vallejo Elementary School had participated in at least the planning of one program (ECE) and a small representative group had worked on a school constitution. It took two years for the constitution to be written and accepted by the entire faculty. The final vote on acceptance was twenty-four in favor and one opposed. Six other teachers were absent that day but at least three absentees indicated their approval.

Because the process evolved slowly and because the teachers were beginning to participate in some decision making within the school, the constitution and the Faculty Council had a strong chance for survival. A major task still before the Council was the coordination of the school's some two dozen separate programs.

Factions

The basis of politics is the everyday behavior of individuals and groups who compete for power. Vallejo Elementary School has had the

the least amount of factionalism, in comparison to other schools in this study. The tendency for factions to arise may be related to the physical size of the school and to the larger numbers of staff people. Secondary schools usually have larger facilities than elementary schools and are more conducive to factionalism. Departments form immediate and natural political groups. While elementary schools are not immune, many of these conditions do not exist. On the other hand, the same factors suggest that elementary schools are more amenable for the institution of formal governance controlled by teachers, or by an authoritarian principal and a small group of advisors. The Vallejo School was an example of the latter.

For years, principal after principal had come and gone from Vallejo School. Each had, in turn, been a tough and paternalistic administrator. The stabilizing influence (power) in the school was a group of tested advisors which persisted year after year. This group provided the leadership for the school. In other words, within the faculty, there were two factions: those in power through the clique, and all the others. The majority of the teachers simply had no say or input into the decisions and policies of the school. They were powerless, they were disenfranchised.

Implications for Change

From the data on Vallejo Elementary School, many conclusions can be drawn and in a later chapter some generalized summaries will be made. For the moment, three inescapable conclusions are worth considering. First, the change process within any institution takes time and energy from many sources. Namely, the process of change itself is evolutionary. That is, in order to influence and alter an organization, a long period of time is

needed. In the case of Vallejo, it took two years before any noticeable change occurred. The process was particularly long here since it concerned the very basis of organizational development: political power. The institutionalization of a Faculty Council meant that old political arrangements would be altered and new ones established. The political power of factions and individuals resulted in a new assessment for the redirection of their behaviors.

An evolutionary change process requires that the everyday politics within the school shift to different levels. For example, school staffs need to be political on a daily basis just to obtain the simple things such as paper clips and ditto paper. A staff member must know from whom and how to get these supplies. Personal and factional politics are exercised constantly depending on the daily needs and goals of the staff.

When the political process within the school becomes formalized through a school-site constitution and council, the latent personal and factional politics become more manifest. All of this takes time and is especially disturbing to those who were in power prior to the new governance structures. Decisions that were once secret and covert are now out in the open. People must reconsider and readjust their earlier roles.

Consequently, the second conclusion to be drawn from the Vallejo data is that the role of the principal is important in bringing about school change. The new principal at Vallejo was clearly a change agent within the school. In fact, that is the way he saw his role. However, he was astute enough to realize that he could not force the staff into change.

As he once observed:

> If I had suggested that the teachers write a constitution, form a faculty council, and elect representatives, it would never have happened.

He recognized that the conditions had to be ripe for change. He also knew that his administration would be watched and judged by the community, the staff and the Superintendent. His role had to be one of bringing about change that was within the constraints and aspirations of the school-site. To force certain issues would only alienate him from the school community.

Timing was also important. To be an effective change agent, he had to assess the situation and then move with it in order to change it. Forces were already at work within the school to create a faculty council. During his first year, he observed the staff members who were attempting to move the process along. The Teacher Participation Project almost died. Only when the new principal got behind the idea in his second year did it move. By the end of that year, a constitution had been drafted and was voted in by the faculty before school recessed for the summer.

The third conclusion centers around that constitution and the Faculty Council itself. School-site governance operates in two dimensions: one is internal to the school, and the other is external to it. Governance of schools can not take place in a contextual vacuum. The school and its daily operations are part of the larger community. Therefore, in order for there to be a school-site council, the external dimensions must be supportive. From the Superintendent down through the school district organization there must be verbal and written support. The School Board must legalize the concept so that the councils can operate. Such was the case in this school district. Legal support provided the necessary

encouragement for teachers to participate in on-site decision making.

Internally, school-site governance can only occur when substantive issues are addressed. From observations at Vallejo and other schools, three issues could be considered substantive at almost any school: budget, curriculum and personnel. The staff members must consider these and related topics in order to make the council a viable and participatory institution. When important issues are not addressed, evidence shows that active participation ends.

PART II: The Problem of Change in Schools

CHAPTER V: THE EVOLUTIONARY PROCESS OF THE TEACHER PARTICIPATION PROJECT

Background of the Process

The Teacher Participation Project (TPP) in Central City grew out of a similar idea in Southern California. Teachers in two local school districts requested the Teacher Association for assistance in developing decision making and problem solving skills to govern their schools. The Teacher Association wanted to repeat the process elsewhere and the Central City Teacher Association (CCTA) wanted such a program instituted in its school district.

According to one of the Teacher Association staff members involved with TPP, a Request for Proposals from the National Institute of Education (NIE) was received. This person alerted a member of the staff in the Southern California office of the Teacher Association whose previous experience with two school districts in southern California was used as a basis for this proposal. The Southern California projects had developed some techniques and procedures which seemed worth while extending to other school districts.

Both staff members chose Central City because they knew some Central City teachers and administrators. Exploratory probes were made both to the Central City Teachers Association and the administration of the Central City Unified School District. The results were all positive. The local and state teacher organizations, as well as the School District, wanted TPP.

In the summer of 1974, the State Teacher Association formally applied for funds from the National Institute of Education (NIE); it received $120,000 for the 1974-75 academic year to start Phase I of TPP in ten target schools. In the 1975-76 academic year, Phase II was budgeted at $92,000; and in the 1976-77 academic year, Phase III was budgeted at $79,000.

The 1975 TPP Brochure listed the program goals:

> TPP is teacher involvement in today's decision making for tomorrow's schools.
>
> TPP is an organization involving the Central City Unified School District (CCUSD), the Central City Teacher Association (CCTA) and the National Institute of Education.
>
> The first of its kind (the grant) to a teacher's association affiliate, the grant represents a major breakthrough in focusing funds from federal agencies directly to teachers at the local level.
>
> TPP is leadership training to ensure an optimal teacher-directed, controlled, and implemented program at each participating school.
>
> (1) Triads are three volunteer teachers at each school who "participate in a series of leadership training workshops";
> (2) Represent the Faculty Council (the teacher governance body at each school);
> (3) Report to the Policy Committee (a group of Triad members and representatives from administration and parents);
> (4) The Facilitator Team (which is a small group of teachers that manages, directs, and administrates the Project).
>
> TPP is cooperation between the CCUSD and CCTA.
>
> TPP is needs assessment of the decision needs of the staff of each individual school.
>
> TPP is self-governance at the local building level of each participating school.
>
> TPP is opportunity for a school district...to utilize the considerable. . .professional talent within each school in solving instruction-related problems. Further, it is an opportunity for teachers to develop self-confidence and to revitalize skills in instructional analysis and problem solving. . . (TPP Brochure, 1975).

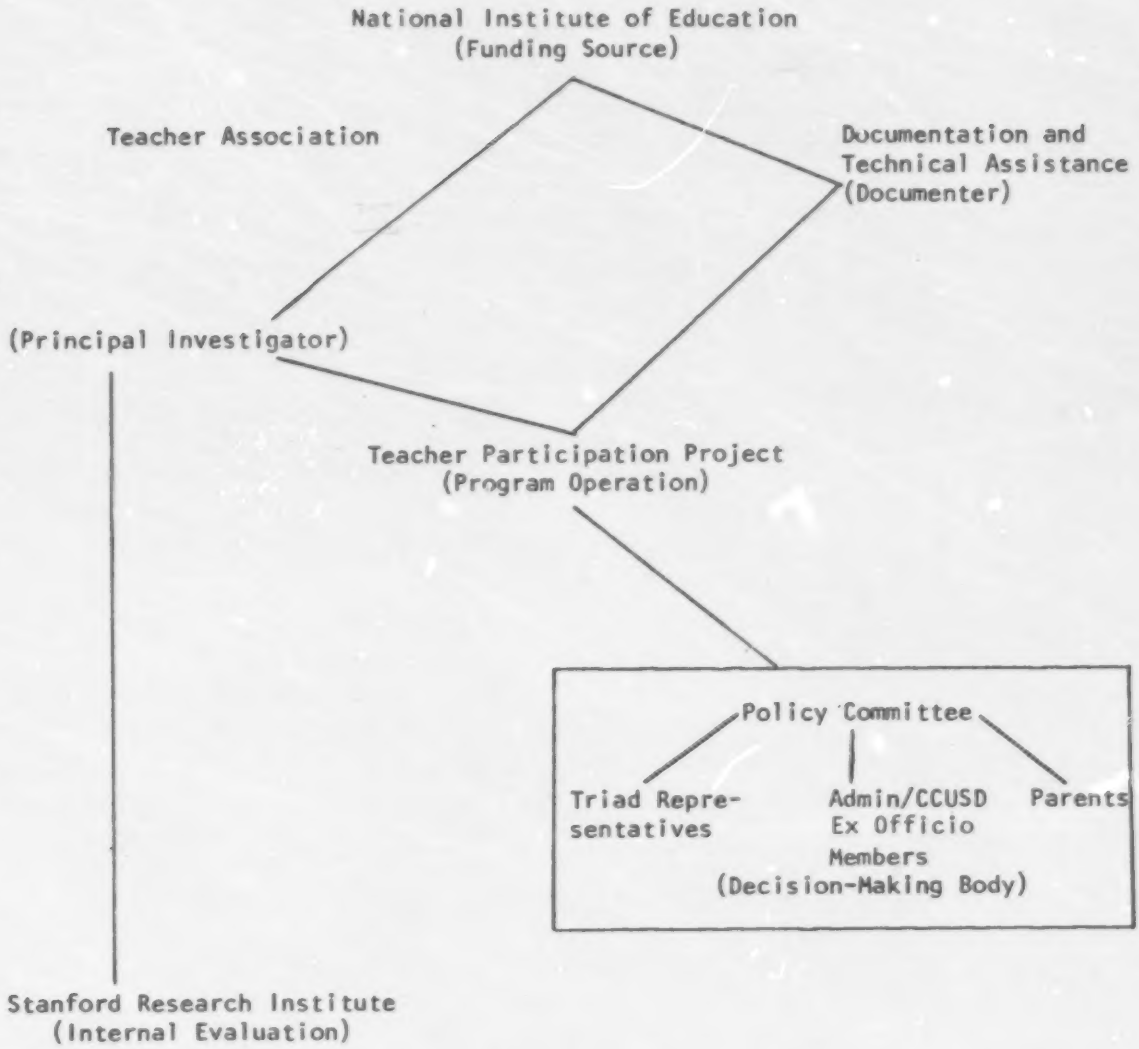
Evolutionary Structures

In 1974, CCUSD and CCTA arrived at the following Policy.

> Each school may elect a faculty council. The staff may develop its own constitution, bylaws and/or standing rules by which they will operate. Such a council should foster mutual communication and mutual effort. . . (TPP Brochure, 1975)83

The basic organization of TPP appeared as:

FIGURE 1: Basic Organization of TPP



A variety of issues were identified by the TPP staff in its early days. They were in order of priority:

1. Special Programs in individual schools (e.g., Early Childhood Education) are implemented without teacher consultation.

2. Variations in principals' work/administrative styles made it difficult to adopt a strategy for TPP vis-a-vis principals. (E.g., one cooperative principal endorsed a TPP school constitution then fellow principals complained because it gave teachers too much power.)

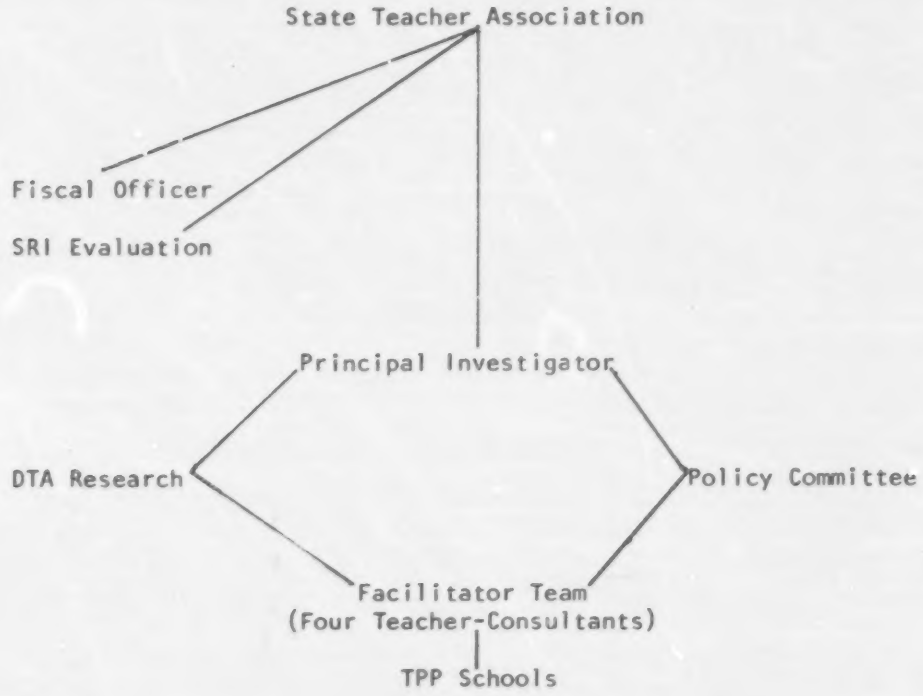
3. Trouble-shooting placed TPP in a dilemma: be either an advocate or a facilitator.

4. The role and relationships between DTA and TPP must be determined.

Year One

TPP changed its organization during its three-year formal existence. The first year, TPP paid four teachers who were part-time consultants to form a Facilitator Team. Financial control and policy making rested with a Principal Investigator from the State Teacher Association.

FIGURE II: FIRST YEAR OF TPP

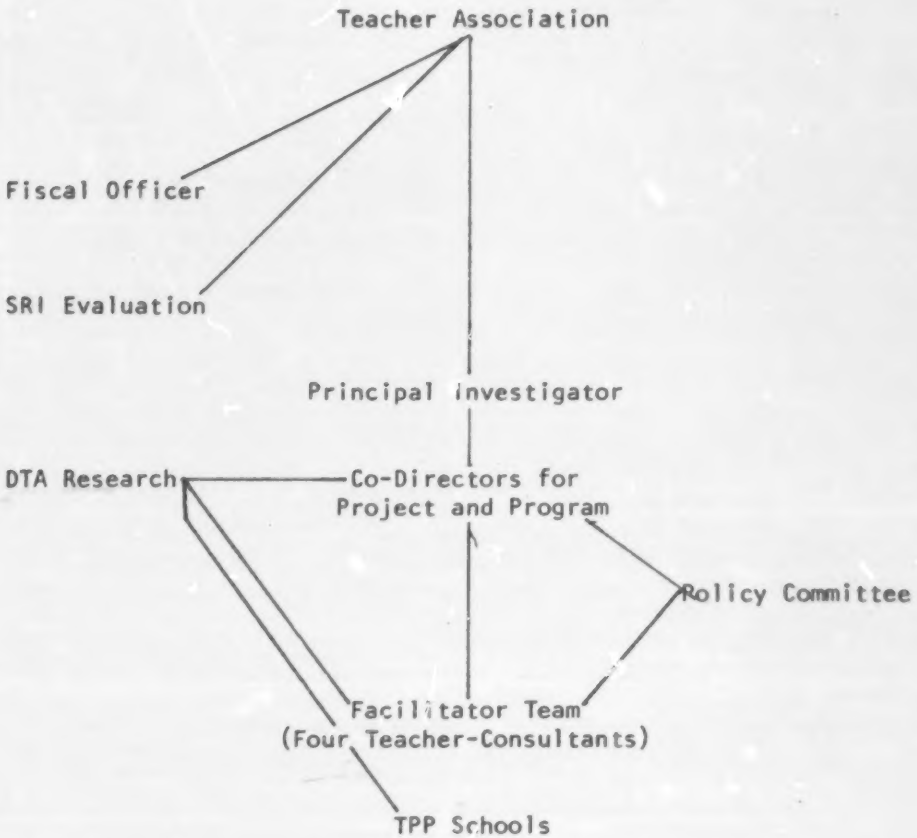


The second year of TPP saw one significant organizational change. Two teacher-consultants were hired to be full-time TPP directors. Four more (one of the original four plus three others) teacher-consultants were brought in to form a team.

Year Two

For the second year the State Teacher Association Principal Investigator remained the same but at reduced time:

FIGURE III: Second Year of TPP



During the second year (1975-76) of TPP more emphasis was placed on the local teachers. Two teachers were hired (they took leaves of absence from the School District) as co-directors and a full-time secretary was hired. As in the first year, the office was located in an old Spanish-style junior high school building that had been transformed into office space. One of the co-directors was in charge of the Project, the other had responsibility for the Program. The positions overlapped, but essentially the latter was responsible

for the workshops and the former oversaw the entire Project (e.g., activities in schools, liaison with the central office administration, evaluation, etc.). Four new teacher-consultants were hired part-time for the second year. The Principal Investigator now spent even less time on the Project. This is the year (or one day of it) that I will describe.

Because it is difficult to understand how a program operates from an organization chart, I want to present a description of the everyday life within the project during its second year. The typical day for the project co-directors gives the reader some idea of the intensity and complexity of operating an innovative program. Such a description also makes the people real and their problems more understandable. Above all, the reader can better comprehend how a program evolves and moves as its participants seek to bring an idea into reality.

The TPP office is a former classroom. As such, it has the blackboards, high ceilings, and expansive windows associated with most older school buildings. Everything has the same dull color scheme. TPP has used green for all its letters, envelopes and programs. That color stands out against the drab school color.

When you enter the room, the secretary's desk confronts you. Immediately to the left is a mail drop table. On the same table are some TPP Sheets-the Project's newsletter. Above the table is a bulletin board with clippings from the local newspaper and a variety of announcements. A conference table sits off further to the left of the mail table. And in back of it, against the far wall, is another desk for the administrative assistant. (You can tell who sits here because the chair to this desk has a large phone book on it, the administrative assistant is short and needs the extra height.) Next to her desk is a coffee set-up on a book shelf.

At either end of the room are two cubicles for private offices. The partitions are seven feet high (not as high as the ceiling). Each co-director has his own office. In between the cubicles is an easy chair surrounded by three shelves of TPP literature and work materials.

Each desk has a phone. There are two lines into the office, one comes through the CCUSD switchboard and the other is an outside line. Aside from some posters put up by the staff, there are two charts that graphically display the progress of TPP schools. The charts were not updated during the second year of the project.

One Day at a Time

The co-directors arrive at the TPP office about 9 a.m. an hour later than the time they started work as school teachers, but their work days are longer. It's a Monday and there will be a TPP workshop and dinner until 8 or 8:30 p.m. tonight. Besides that, they had met with their teacher-consultants on Friday until 6:30 p.m. reviewing plans for today's workshop. The teacher-consultants are in school classrooms until 3:30 p.m. so afternoon meetings do not start until 4:00 p.m. or later.

The Program co-director had also met with one of the teacher-consultants on Saturday. No wonder his wife complained of "never seeing him," Her husband devoted "most of his waking hours to TPP." The other co-director's wife had "put her foot down." As he reported, she said, "enough is enough, tonight you are taking me to dinner" (implying he is out with TPP people frequently for dinners). That is why a Friday night meeting broke up early at 6:30 p.m. His wife had a dinner date with him.

Time is important to others also. The secretary tries to adhere to a 9:00 a.m. - 5:00 p.m. schedule, but that is often interrupted by Project needs.

A half-time administrative assistant watches her own time closely because of the constraints placed on her by her student-teaching program at the university. The Principal Investigator has spent less time in Central City this year (1976-77) than last year (1975-76). Yet she is still there (either in person or by way of the phone) much more than her allocated (20%) time. The teacher-consultants are also addicted. One who lives about fifty miles away, reports that her husband "has finally put his foot down!" He wants her to "quit TPP. It takes up too much time." Another woman teacher-consultant reports the same. Her husband is "tired of cooking his own meals."

Yet all the meetings and time spent at TPP are not really equivalent to the time spent with TPP problems and issues. At most meetings, it appears that about one-third of the time is spent on actual TPP work. Another third is spent on personal matters, the last third is devoted to Central City Teacher Association politics. At times, the unproductive nature and lack of task accomplishments of the meetings has led some TPP staff not to come, others come late and sessions need to be rearranged for another time.

After the co-directors arrive, they get some coffee and discuss the day's activities, interspersing short anecdotes from their personal weekend activities. The day looks like this:

> 9:30-11:30 a.m. Discuss and rewrite the Progress Guide for the evening Workshop, using the ideas from last Friday night's meeting.
>
> 11:30-1:00 p.m. Go to a school to give the faculty the feedback from their Stanford Research Institute evaluation report. The Project co-director will handle this because his colleague is anxious over preparations for this evening's meeting. Try to have lunch somewhere.
>
> 1:00-4:00 p.m. Meet with the teacher-consultants (they have ½ day release time today) to rehearse for the Workshop. Everyone will be present, including the Principal Investigator.
>
> 4:00-7:00 p.m. Put on the Workshop.
>
> 7:00-8:30 p.m. Have dinner with all the Workshop participants.

As the co-directors were discussing the schedule a call came in from one of the TPP schools. It was a crisis. The TPP representatives in the school wanted the co-directors to come over during the snack period (at 10:10 a.m.) to meet with the principal. The Faculty Council president felt that the principal had violated the school's constitution in distributing a list of teachers who were arbitrarily assigned to an after-school dance. "The teachers are fighting mad," was the report.

The shortness of time from the call to the snack period meant the co-directors had to suspend their planned activities in the office. They went to the school, saw the teachers and met with the principal. The principal was put off by the presence of the TPP staff in a matter that he saw as "internal to our school." Nevertheless, he explained his position. One of the vice-principals had put the schedule together from a list of preferred times that each faculty member had presented in early September. The vice-principal simply collated the list and sent it out.

The teachers argued that they did not want "to perform the vice-principal's job" but were more concerned "over the general after-school policies." The teachers felt that the Faculty Council should decide the policy, frequency of events, and procedure for selecting teachers. Furthermore, the teachers felt that the school's constitution had been by-passed.

The TPP co-directors acted as mediators for the discussion. They suggested that the matter go through the constitutional procedure. "Let the Faculty Council deal with it." The principal agreed and the meeting ended about 10:45 a.m.

By that time, the Program co-director was getting very nervous about preparations for the Workshop that evening. He would go back and work on it over lunch. The Project co-director would give the SRI evaluation report to the school faculty.

At the school, the luncheon meeting was open to everyone. In general, the TPP staff tried to schedule meetings with teachers only during non-teaching times: before school, during lunch, after school, in snack periods. Attendance at the sessions, usually called by the school's staff council, was always voluntary. This particular session had about a dozen teachers coming and going with their lunches.

The Project co-director would explain the SRI graphs at best he could. Often there were parts of the charts about which he was unsure. From conversations and interviews afterwards, many of the teachers appeared to comprehend very little. There would be some discussion on the results but frequently the conversations would get diverted to other topics.

Meanwhile, the Program co-director reworked the Program Guide for tonight's Workshop. At 12:30 p.m. between bites of his sandwich and sips of coffee, he received a call from the Principal Investigator in Los Angeles. She would be late; she would arrive at 2:30 p.m. and needed a ride from the airport. But she did have some suggestions to give over the phone. "Oh, no," said the co-director, "she wasn't even there last Friday as she promised, but now has some suggestions." He was livid. She ran down her ideas for the workshop for half an hour. He argued mostly over the facts leaving the general and broader issues for another time. In the end, he agreed to most of the changes.

By 1:00 p.m., when the teacher-consultants and the other co-director came, the Program Guide for the Workshop had been changed. Since none of the other teacher-consultants knew about the changes, over an hour was spent discussing them. In general, they finally accepted the changes, but everyone was upset with the Principal Investigator's last-minute insertions and ideas. Individual responsibilities had to be reassigned. One teacher-

consultant remarked, "Now I have to think in different terms than I did over the weekend." Another teacher-consultant explained the problem this way:

> I get very nervous about my role in these workshops. Over the weekend, at least I had a chance to psych myself up for it (after planning meeting on Friday afternoon). I was so nervous that I took the whole day off teaching today. Now it's all changed. The Principal Investigator is driving me mad.

Equally frustrating is the role of the Program co-director who must explain and defend the program changes. By 2:00 p.m., everyone is complaining and angry. Another phone call comes in from the Principal Investigator. "She won't be here until 3:30 p.m. Can someone pick her up then at the airport?" asks the secretary. "Sure." Everyone laughs with relief. She will not be there on time. They recognize this "typical behavior pattern." At least they will not have to worry about her for a while.

The anxiety level in the room mounts. Now the Workshop is the responsibility of this group alone. They spend the next hour making final plans and assembling all the Workshop material.

3:30 p.m. The Principal Investigator is picked up at the airport.

4:00 p.m. Only two teachers from two schools show up on time.

The Workshop begins with about 35 teachers, 10 administrators, the SRI evaluator, and other observers present. Twelve schools are now represented in the TPP.

The Project co-director starts the program by introducing the guests and observers and announcing that the purpose of the Workshop is to discuss how to write constitutions. The Program co-director takes over and asks that the representatives of the schools fill in the work sheets at their respective tables. There are two school staffs assembled at each table: one school is new to TPP this year, the other was with the project last year. The staffs are asked to individually assess where they are and where they want to go in determining their own governance structures.

After the staffs have worked separately they are asked to work together. A teacher-consultant sits at each table and takes notes which will be reported later to the entire Workshop. The staffs share experiences. The TPP staff circulate. About half an hour later, oral reports are given.

The second half of the Workshop is a simulated Faculty Council meeting. Several teachers were asked to participate when they came into the Workshop. Each one has an assigned role, complete with name, role card, and positions on issues. The Faculty Council discusses several (pre-planned) issues from the role that each person is playing. After forty-five minutes, the Workshop participants are asked to discuss what they observed at their individual tables. Brief oral reports are then given.

The Workshop ends at 7:00 p.m. A fifteen minute break is needed to prepare the room for dinner. Meanwhile the TPP staff and Advisory Panel meet privately to assess the Workshop. Everyone felt that it went well. There was some concern over trying to do too much at one meeting.

Dinner is served at 7:15 p.m. and everyone is ready to leave at 8:30 p.m. It was indeed a long day.

As can be seen a day in the development of a program is both hectic and challenging. The creativity involved in solving minor, and sometimes major, problems leads to a sense of accomplishment and pride, but it also frustrates and angers people. Consequently, those who get involved in developing a program often get "burned out" as the program evolves.

Year Three

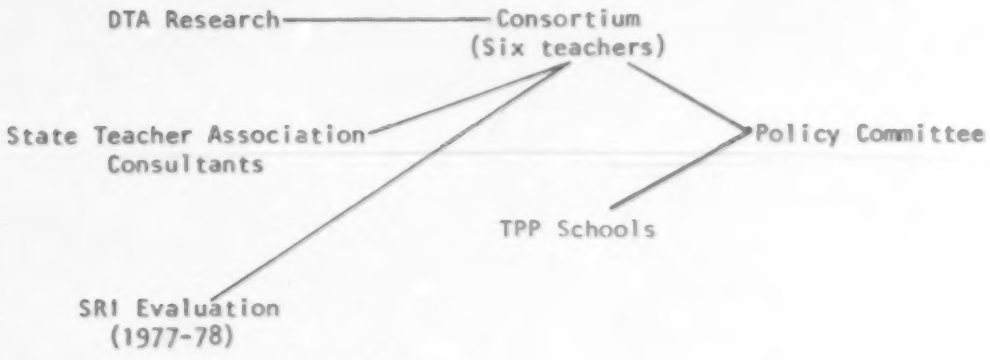
By the third year the co-directors had had enough. Both stated that they wanted "to go back to the classroom and teach." They shared a sense of frustration with the complexities of putting together a project and getting

it operating. What is more revealing, however, is their mutual concern over the difficulty in dealing with so many diverse and conflicting groups and individuals. Project Monitors, Principal Investigators, researchers, and evaluators all contributed to make the project difficult to manage. There were enough problems just dealing with the local schools and the School District.

Therefore, both co-directors refused to be the local project director for year three. The Principal Investigator then asked others to take over. Even the DTA researcher was asked. After a number of refusals, the Principal Investigator was advised to try to get the six teachers to develop a "Consortium." This collective group would be the new "directorship" or Principal Investigator of the project. The Central City Teacher Association agreed to be the fiscal agent.

Organizationally, the new arrangement appeared as:

FIGURE IV: Third Year of TPP



The role of the evaluation remained strong. In the third year of the project, the internal evaluator was directly responsible to the Consortium. In the prior two years, he was responsible to the STA's Principal Investigator. The TPP budget provided for the SRI evaluation to continue into a fourth

year of TPP; this will occur after the NIE funding has ended. The role of the STA personnel changed to that of consultants to the Consortium. The STA retains one vote on the Policy Committee, but has no other direct responsibility. The Executive Director of the Central City Teacher Association is the fiscal officer for TPP.

The success of the Consortium as a viable management concept is debatable. Without question, the placing of the Project totally into the hands of local teachers was a positive tactical move. It helps assure the institutionalization of the local governance structures. But, the concept of a collective group operating a project is different from the actual operation of school-site faculty constitutions.

Just reviewing a few of the problems may be useful. Clearly, the overall evolution of a TPP itself from an outside technical assister to a collective group of the CCTA is an important development. The use of a collective group of people (consortium) as the inside technical assisters can be questioned. A significant problem was the lack of leadership within the group. The teachers had been accustomed to a strong outside leader. They may have disagreed and argued with that person but they also respected that person's abilities and skills. When the Project was placed into the hands of a Consortium the peer decision making process got more and more complicated. No one person became the leader. In part, this was the ideal of the Consortium; but in part, it was the result of no one wanting to be the leader. Consequently, the group had many problems in functioning.

Another significant problem was the implicit assumption that the Consortium members had the technical, conceptual, and managerial skills necessary to run a project. Individual members appeared to lack some of the basic skills to operate the Project. From the first year of the Project, the

teachers participated in workshops. However, to run their own called for different procedural and conceptual skills for which no training was provided.

Finally, there were external pressures upon the Consortium that would make it difficult to succeed. The former Principal Investigator and the internal evaluator caused some of the problems because of their own ideas and goals for TPP. NIE had even other ideas and the School District had others. The pressures forced the Consortium to move or not move in certain directions.

Overall, the concept of a local group operating a project parallels the entire TPP philosophy of participation in decision making. Yet the Consortium, itself, had great difficulty in doing what it proposed that others do. Its problems paralleled the problems of the Faculty Councils. Perhaps the concept of a Consortium needs an evolutionary period to develop and operate effectively and one year was too short a period in which to judge. Certainly, shared management of a project is an innovative and exciting concept in itself.

CHAPTER VI: GOVERNANCE STRUCTURES: THE TEACHER PARTICIPATION PROJECT IN ACTION

PHILOSOPHICAL PREMISES

The Teacher Participation Project embodies three critical concepts: (1) the project is directed toward teachers; (2) the project is operated by teachers in a large urban school district; and (3) the project attempts to establish governance structures for shared decision making in individual schools. To date, the project has gone forward in all three areas. Although the processes were not always those envisioned by the original plans, all twelve target schools have operating constitutions, several others have begun a TPP process; and a few of the target schools are revising their current constitutions.

Many subtle, philosophical differences exist among the TPP participants, but five basic views seem to dominate. I will elaborate on the official project goals and objectives (TPP, June 20, 1975: 1-2 and 6-12) which serve as the unifying philosophical themes for active participation in the project both at the staff and school levels.

Decision Making

Decision making should be shared. This is perhaps the most widely held view by the TPP participants, yet, it leads to the most controversy. Teachers want to be part of the decision making process within their schools. What teachers mean by that varies considerably. Furthermore, the degree of participation in decision making differs extremely. For that reason six levels of involvement have been identified by the TPP staff. They range from informational on the one hand to authoritative at the other extreme. Some school teachers want to be informed only of the principal's decisions,

whereas other faculty want to share the power to make decisions.

In one sense, the shared decision making process is an evolutionary one -- both for the individual teacher and for the entire faculty. Over a period of time, people tend to become more confident about making decisions. However, individuals may continue to differ greatly in what they feel should be shared or the nature of the involvement they should have. Shared decision making becomes a shared goal that differs in scope and degree.

Governance Structures

Shared decision making should be institutionalized into some form of governance structure. The ability of teachers to continuously participate in making decisions depends on the institutionalization of that process at the school building level. To do otherwise raises serious questions. Why do teachers want to share in decisions? Are the decisions dictated by the principal, made at random, or do they result from combined efforts of selected staff members? Many teachers believe that a formal constitution would ensure that decision making is shared and that the mechanisms would continue beyond the tenure of any one administrator, teacher, or special group.

One of the major concerns of teachers is the transience of the administrators in Central City. As a result of Affirmative Action, Federal guidelines, personal mobility, and the pressures of local ethnic groups, among other things, administrators have become a very transient population. Many principals in Central City serve only three or four years in any one school. Teachers and middle-level administrators serve between ten and fifteen years; some even spend their entire careers in one school. While teachers' transfers

average 30 percent in the inner-city schools, the other 70 percent of the teachers have remained in one school for ten or more years. Of course, there are teachers who fall in both groups; they have been in one school for less than ten years and not transferred--so far. Even dissatisfied teachers rarely transfer, though they talk about it frequently. As some teachers pointed out, "We can never get the transfers that we request."

A governance structure, therefore, is one way to assure continued teacher input into school decisions that affect most of the staff. With a high turnover in administrators, the operation of a constitution provides some security for policies, rules, and channels of communication. Power is shared and former informal structures are recognized and altered so that staff input to decisions is made on a regular basis.

In large part, the shape of institutionalized governance structures stems from a desire to have a form of representative democracy. The individual school faculties decide on how they want to operate, what constitutes an agenda and who will participate. In most cases a staff council or senate is operationalized. Most constitutions provide opportunities for classified employees (secretaries and custodians), paraprofessionals, administrators and parents to participate in school decision making. So far none has designated representation to students, although they talk of doing so.

Each representative on the staff council is elected from a constituency group. Any number of ways for representation are possible. Some schools divide constituency groups by departments, pods (the modular classroom structure of school buildings), or special interest groups. The constituency groups meet regularly; their representatives usually report directly to the staff council. In many cases, the council will ask the representatives to poll their constituencies.

Over a period of time, there appears to be an evolving process for these governance structures. Once the constitution is in place, the staff council members usually agree that revisions are needed. Areas of responsibility turn out to be unclear, roles become confused, and staff members get embroiled in conflicts. However, the belief in the idea of a formal arrangement in which to govern the schools is shared by almost all the participants.

Teacher-Centered Schools

Schools should be teacher-centered and most teachers in Central City see themselves as already being involved in operating the schools. While the degree of involvement may differ, the Teacher Participation Project is operated solely by the teachers and their professional organization. In that spirit, the local teacher association retained total control over the Project. For its last year (1976-77), the Project was housed in the local teacher association offices. The Central City Teacher Association Board of Directors was made the official principal investigator for TPP.

Control of the Project has been a focus of conflict from the beginning. The school administrators, the parents and the teachers' union viewed TPP as a project totally controlled by the local teacher association. To a large extent, this was true. The teacher association was willing to share in the control of the TPP, but felt it should retain real ownership. As TPP staff members often point out, "We are the only project that NIE has funded directly to teachers." They see this as an honor and as a mandate to maintain control.

A more subtle issue was the distinction between the State Teacher's Association and the Central City Teacher Association. For two years, the

Project was controlled by the former. The local teachers viewed the State Association with suspicion and apprehension, as an outsider. The School District administrators shared this concern over an "outsider interfering with our schools."

Despite their apprehension, most teachers viewed the local branch of the State Association as being at least sympathetic with their needs. The important boundaries were those drawn between a professional teachers' group and all others: parents, unions, administrators, city, state or federal government. TPP was by and for teachers -- even if only for a certain kind of teachers.

Volunteerism

Staff at school sites volunteered for TPP; teachers volunteered to go to TPP workshops and the schools volunteered to be designated as TPP schools. In part this system works because of the rewards volunteerism brings. For example, some teachers who go to the TPP workshops get free dinners after each one. Most of the teachers who were active on the TPP Policy Committee during the project's second year were paid as consultants. During the last year of TPP funding a core group of six were paid as consultants. For principals, TPP provides a way to communicate with and to work with their faculties toward common goals. For the top administration of the School District, there is national recognition and possible fame if TPP is successful.

Other rewards also exist. Many of the teachers in TPP have become recognized leaders and power brokers in their schools. It was originally expected that opinion leaders would emerge in each school. TPP has formalized

the power of those teachers: they are elected now rather than just being asked for subjective opinions and they speak for a broader constituency. However, most of the TPP teacher-consultants have attempted to play down their power.

Volunteers were organized into triads from each school, who attended workshops to learn about TPP. The triads attempt to move their faculties through the process of drafting and accepting a school constitution. Once the school staff votes for a constitution, the majority rules. However, a school can remove itself from the TPP or vote out its constitution. The individuals are always able to participate in TPP on their own.

Dissemination

The dissemination of TPP as a model to other school districts was not discussed often in the first two years of the Project, but this is part of the Project philosophy. When asked, the local teachers did not see themselves as actively spreading the good word about TPP. On the other hand the State Teacher Association does want to see the Project disseminated.

The former Principal Investigator has presented the TPP idea to other teacher associations as well as to national educators' meetings. The two local teachers who have directed TPP attended a conference on Teacher Centers where TPP attracted much attention. Visitors have also observed TPP operations and been given an overview of the Project.

Overall, in 1975-76 little was done to systematically present TPP to the outside world. Most of the dissemination activity originated with the Teacher Association. Participation of the TPP staff in dissemination was limited. Then, in the spring of 1977 a planning conference for a larger

dissemination workshop was held. A major conflict erupted between the teachers, on the one hand, and on the other, the former Principal Investigator and the internal evaluator from SRI. The latter hoped to use dissemination as a means to enhance their professional standing and accordingly wanted to invite a number of distinguished scholars to the workshop. The teachers wanted the workshop to address the needs that they faced in making TPP work better in the schools. Due to these two conflicting agendas the dissemination workshop never materialized.

Organizational Relationships

The Teacher Participation Project exists on at least seven different organizational levels. The theoretical implications, applications, and interaction of these levels are discussed in another chapter. Here TPP is only described at each of the seven levels.

National Institute of Education. TPP existed, in a conceptual and operational sense, prior to the NIE funding. The Program for School Capacity for Local Problem Solving is the formal organization through which TPP receives its funds. In fact, one of the criteria for funding TPP was based upon the prior work of the State Teacher Association on this type of project. Other criteria for the selection of TPP as one of nine NIE funded projects included: (1) technical quality; (2) feasibility; (3) quality of proposed staff; (4) management capacity; and (5) overall scope of the research program. Furthermore, urban areas were the target for the funds. The project areas must also have had at least a 50 percent student population from low income families (Baldwin, July 15, 1976:3-4).

Eligible for the NIE funds were state and local educational agencies, colleges, universities, profit and non-profit organizations, and other groups. NIE stipulated that:

> Although the organizations or groups submitting proposals need not be part of an official school district structure it is essential that the proposed program respond to the needs of an urban school district and its local community and be supported by school district policies and activities relating to the target school or cluster of schools (quoted from the original NIE Request for Proposals taken from Baldwin, July 15, 1976:2).

By the end of April 1974, 106 proposals had been submitted. After weeding, forty proposals were reviewed by outside NIE reviewers. Eighteen of these proposed sites were visited by the NIE reviewers and ten proposals were finally selected. Ultimately, nine proposals were funded (Baldwin, July 15, 1974:4-8) of which TPP was one.

However, the ultimate goal for funding the nine sites was embodied in a larger contract to an outside organization (The Documentation and Technical Assistance Project, DTA) "in order to acquire generalizable information which NIE can use to assist other schools considering similar programs." (See the original NIE, RFP quoted in Baldwin, July 15, 1976:1). The entire idea stems from the NIE report on Knowledge Utilization in Education (December 1973) and only six months lapsed between the printing of the NIE conceptual idea to the actual funding of the nine projects. Another six months lapsed between the time of the TPP's funding and the external contractor's funding (January 1975) for DTA.

Meanwhile, the continued role of NIE in Central City was established primarily through its Project Officer. From the beginning, NIE and TPP relationships were strained. Conflict arose, for example, over the NIE

insistence on TPP having a Policy Committee. NIE wanted the involvement of others (parents, administrators, community people, students) besides teachers at some level in TPP; at first, the TPP staff rejected this idea. The Project Officer had to take the responsibility for convening the first Policy Committee meeting in September 1974. His efforts were circumvented by the TPP staff since the latter planned and attempted to execute the meeting on their own. Both sides were suspicious of the other, NIE because TPP was a teacher organization; and TPP because it was fearful of the dictates emanating from the federal government. Several legal agreements which elaborated on the context were drawn up between the two groups. Almost every piece of written communication was threatened with legal review by the Teacher Association. Only after visits to Central City by the NIE Project Officer and visits by the TPP staff to Washington, D.C. did relationships between the two groups smooth out.

Documentation and Technical Assistance. After months of competitive bidding in which the staff at the nine sites served as reviewers, the Center for New Schools, and the Center for Educational Policy and Management were chosen in early 1975 to carry out the DTA work. DTA operations began slowly. In May 1975, this author was hired to be part-time on-site researcher for DTA and began full-time work in July 1975. By now, over one year had elapsed since NIE awarded the funds to TPP in the summer of 1974.

One of the continuing concerns to TPP was the role of DTA. From the beginning of the TPP grant, the DTA had problems. Misunderstanding continued after the DTA contract was awarded because DTA was a new organization that combined two geographically independent educational centers creating

communication problems and forcing staff members to work out their new roles and responsibilities over long distances. The internal DTA problems made it difficult for the organizations and their staffs to interact at the sites.

The major task was to build rapport with the TPP staff. More than a year of suspicion and anxiety had anticipated the arrival of DTA's representatives. Particularly troublesome was the random presence of various members of DTA staff in Central City who were viewed as "carpetbaggers" by the TPP leadership and the School District administration. These initial suspicions were soon allayed, however, and the DTA purpose in Central City came to be accepted in time.

State Teacher Association. An affiliate of the State Teacher Association, the official recipient of the NIE grant, is a non-profit corporation whose purpose it is to secure resources and support programs that foster good teaching practices. The State Teachers Association heard about the NIE Request for Proposals and started the mechanisms to apply for funds. They had about one month to get a proposal together.

Since the Principal Investigator for TPP had already developed another program in two Southern California elementary school districts for the State Teacher Association, similar ideas were adopted to comply with the NIE guidelines. Central City was chosen because it fit the NIE mandate for an urban area with impoverished students. Also, the Principal Investigator from the State Teacher Association had participated in another project in Central City as part of another job. Furthermore, another key official in the State Teacher Association was familiar with the teachers, some administrators, and the School District.

The presence of the State Teacher Association in TPP has been effected chiefly through the services of two staff members who acted as the Principal Investigator and the Fiscal Officer. During the first year, the former spent fifty percent of her time on TPP; the latter spent twenty percent. For the second year the percentage of involvement was twenty percent and ten percent respectively. The State Teacher Association also provided secretarial and other support services of TPP in the first and second year of its operation. At one point when the NIE funds were a month delayed, the Teacher Association paid the TPP staff directly.

The third and final year of NIE funding did not provide for either of the two Teacher Association employees to be part of TPP. Instead, the local Teacher Association assumed full responsibility and the two State Teacher Association employees acted only in consulting roles.

Central City Teacher Association. The local chapter of the State Teacher Association did not play an important role in TPP until the spring of 1976. The Board of Directors for the Central City Teachers Association (CCTA) voted then to assume full responsibility for TPP for the 1976-77 academic year. Prior to that time, the local association president was an ex-officio member of the TPP Policy Committee and the local teacher association supplied marginal funds to half of the TPP schools. Despite this lack of day-to-day involvement, the Principal Investigator from the State Teacher Association was careful to maintain good relationships with the local Teacher Association. The new local Executive Director of CCTA, for example, was "briefed and courted into the TPP philosophy and spirit," as one member of the TPP leadership team put it. It was felt, however, that the initial

separation of TPP from the local association would allow the Project to develop on its own without risk of local complications.

TPP's future under the CCTA organizational structure while solving some problems, creates others. The crucial challenge will be the transfer of the Project from an outsider, the State Teacher Association, to an insider, the CCTA organization. Once NIE funding stops, can TPP carry on with limited financial resources? Furthermore, the impact of local collective bargaining and school district policies is an important consideration. CCTA won the right to represent teachers in Central City as part of the Teacher Association. Now TPP must demonstrate that local governance does not weaken the power of the larger organization.

Central City Unified School District. From the early stages of the proposal preparation, the Central City Unified School District (CCUSD) has offered its support to TPP. A negotiated agreement was devised by CCTA representatives with the CCUSD, that said in part:

> Each school may elect a faculty council. The staff may develop its own constitution, by-laws and/or standing rules, by which they will operate. Such a council should foster mutual communication and mutual effort (TPP, March 17, 1975; emphasis in original).

The agreement was modified during the negotiations. The modification then appeared in the 1975-76 CCUSD Rules and Regulations as:

> Each school faculty may elect a faculty advisory council. The faculty may develop its own constitution, by-laws, and/or standing rules by which they will operate. Such a council should foster mutual communication and mutual effort aimed at enhancing the common good of the school (CCUSD, 1975:15, emphasis shows changes in language from original statement above).

Unfortunately, the TPP staff was unaware of the later changes which defined the councils as "advising" and continued to report on, and use the

first version. This led to confusion and misunderstanding between the TPP staff and the school district administration because the changes were made without the TPP staff's consent and it potentially lessened the power of the school-site comments. In the end, the TPP teachers and the administrators agreed on the later version in the spring of 1975.

TPP fits very well into the Superintendent's decentralized model for school administration. The Project advocates that the schools run their own programs and solve their own problems. However, within the CCUSD administration, there are those who seriously question teacher participation in decision making. In other words, to some administrators decentralization only means giving power to the building principals. According to this view, teachers, community representatives, classified staff, and students should not be involved in making decisions. At least one central office administrator views TPP as being "one more of those federal programs that come and go." Other central office administrators echo that sentiment and see TPP as "too militant" and "inconsequential." The Project will "certainly not become part of CCUSD." As a result, subtle measures and practices were used that subverted TPP. The specialized interpretation of rules and policies may have been used to thwart some TPP activities. For example, the CCUSD withdrew support services for TPP in its third year. That particular central office decision threw the Project into turmoil for several weeks.

Another example is the institutionalization process itself. One central office administrator wants the TPP project located in the central office as part of the Human Relations or Staff Development Departments. In essence,

they want to co-opt TPP" and "staff it with their existing administrative staff" as one TPP leader put it. This is the view of the entire TPP staff and is based primarily on their past experiences with CCUSD administrators. Before TPP, two of the teachers were involved in another project. Due to budget constraints and personnel shifts the central office administration allowed the project to end prematurely. Many administrators share this perception of how to institutionalize a project: "make it part of the ongoing central organization."

Individual Schools. The prime target of TPP is the individual school. Without doubt, the TPP philosophy has been to bring self-governance to the school building level. Of course, there are legal constraints and School Board regulations that limit what TPP can do. However, the goal of TPP is to have school constitutions operating in at least a dozen different schools.

There are four procedures in recruiting, choosing, and involving schools in TPP. First, by NIE's criterion, TPP had to have schools where fifty percent of the students met the federal definition of poverty. To meet the criterion, the CCUSD provided statistics on the number of students receiving free lunches. From this list the TPP staff established a list of "funded schools" -- that is, targeted poverty-level schools where TPP would make efforts. However, another list of interested schools was generated that did not meet the poverty-level guidelines. Those schools not funded by NIE were funded from CCTA. There were six NIE-funded and six CCTA-funded schools. The distinction between the two groups of schools becomes very nebulous and it is not entirely feasible to distinguish CCTA funds from NIE.

Second, teachers from the funded schools were asked to volunteer to hear about TPP and participate in its workshops. Usually active teachers were sought. These opinion leaders would be asked to recruit at least two other teachers, forming a triad. The term describing this core of teachers has been changed to School Involvement Teams because (1) it allows for more than three teachers in larger schools, usually the secondary ones; and (2) the concept was broadened so that non-teachers were included in the teams.

Third, once the teams were interested, they attended specific skill building workshops where they learned skills that they could then implement in their own schools.

Fourth, the TPP staff led the workshops and also went to the individual schools to work with the teams. Often the TPP staff is needed to clarify what TPP is, to explain the skill process, or to handle crises. The crises appeared to be the most frequent reason for TPP staff intervention. However, the skill building was seen by the TPP staff as the most important priority for the last academic year (1976-77) of the project.

Once a school becomes involved in the Project, representatives are elected to the TPP Policy Committee. This group has increasingly taken over control of the Project. The TPP staff have acted as the administrative arm of the Policy Committee by setting the agendas, making reports, and calling the meetings. Although the Policy Committee started as a rubber stamp and informational body, it now questions and directs TPP staff policies. The additional teachers who were selected to be teacher-consultants and thus, to expand the TPP staff, were chosen because they were vocal, questioning members of the Policy Committee. All of the teachers (four in all) considered

for consultant roles in 1976-77 came from the Policy Committee membership.

Stanford Research Institute. As the internal evaluator for TPP, the Stanford Research Institute (SRI) prepared both formative and summative reports. The Evaluator worked with the Principal Investigator to check on data collection instruments and on the results prior to their dissemination.

According to the view of the TPP staff SRI's presence legitimized their project. A common belief held by the TPP leadership was that if it were not for the SRI evaluation component in their proposal, NIE would not have funded TPP. Furthermore, whenever TPP presentations were made to schools, community groups, visitors, or the Central City Board of Education, the SRI first-year evaluation report was cited at length. Finally, the TPP staff saw the SRI evaluation (the institutional name as well as the content) as so important that the 1976-77 budget had extra funds set aside for an evaluation (in 1977-78) after the Project funds from NIE closed. The idea was to measure TPP's impact in its non-funded period.

Strategies for Constructing School Constitutions

General Processes. For the first year of the Project, the plan was to recruit as many funded and non-funded schools as possible, which wanted to volunteer to be a part of TPP. The plan for the second year was to develop two tracks of schools. One track would contain the schools continuing from the first year and the second track would consist of new schools. Separate workshops on the same topic would be held for each group. These workshops were structured to teach school staff the skills necessary in designing and implementing school constitutions.

During the middle of the school year, the two track systems were combined into one and the new and old schools were brought together in the same workshop setting. The five workshops were spaced about one month apart. In fact, the schools were paired on that basis to allow for "peer tutoring". The more experienced teachers would tell the others about their schools' "trials and tribulations". The change in tactics appeared to work well.

There is great variation between schools both as to the sequence and the completion of each step. The order reflects the TPP ideal sequence as it is presented to the school staffs. By the second year, the TPP staff had developed a "TPP Decision Points Flow Chart." In brief the key decision points for teachers are:

> Shall we establish a triad to attend workshops and relay information to staff? Do we need a procedure for making school decisions? Shall we set up a committee to write a proposal and proceed? And does the decision process and the structure meet our needs? (TPP, 1975: 4).

At each point, after the teachers had applied some of the TPP techniques in their schools, the teachers and the school staffs could opt out of TPP.

To coordinate the workshops in the second year, two teachers were released from their classes to be full-time TPP staff members. One was designated the Project Director and was responsible for the overall coordination of TPP; the other was the Program Director in charge of developing and implementing the workshops. Some conflict existed between the Principal Investigator and the Program Director over a confusion of their roles and responsibilities (see below).

Four teacher-consultants helped to develop the workshops. Each participated in at least one planning session before each workshop. The

teacher-consultants then performed their assigned roles during the workshop. Immediately after the close of the workshop, the TPP staff assembled in a debriefing session to assess how the workshop went. In discussing each of the workshops, I have pointed out specific problems with the skills that are being taught. Yet, given the primitive state of educational methods, they serve as a starting point for further action and change.

Workshops

Needs Assessment Workshop.. The goal of needs assessment is to understand what a group of people believe to be their problem. In the TPP workshops the staff ask people to indicate their concerns. The lists of concerns are then tallied.

Usually curriculum and instruction rank highest among teachers. Other areas in which school staffs might indicate needs are:

> School budget and expenditures, inservice training and faculty meetings, principal-teacher relationships, certificated support personnel, parent-teacher relationships, teacher personnel policies, student personnel policies, evaluation, instructional materials, school procedures, school priorities, etc. (TPP, 1975).

Under each topic a worksheet provides for short descriptions. For example, parent-teacher relationships include: guidelines for teachers to select their own representatives to parent or community organizations and service clubs, policies for parent appointments and visitations, consultation with involved teacher prior to action at other levels, and teacher involvement in design of special programs, open house, fairs, expositions, etc. (TPP, 1975). In the workshop, the participants go over each area and then select those needs which are of concern to them. The process is similar to what they might do with their own staffs.

The needs as listed on the worksheets had been anticipated by the TPP staff as the needs of the teachers and were printed in advance. Thus, the choices offered a limited range to the school staff. A further problem existed with the confusion over terms, the interrelatedness of the areas, and the group norm. Often the needs assessment had to be done twice and in smaller constituency groups. Finally, the teachers who attended the workshops often changed. Some teachers who attended the first workshop might not be able to attend the next. Thus, the process had to be repeated. Finally, needs changed over a month or two, and certainly from September to June, or from June to September.

Priority Poll Workshop. Once needs are assessed, the school staffs are asked to set priorities. Usually this activity is part of the first workshop. A formula is used to tally the priority needs. Finally, a summary is reported back to the group which reflects the number of sheets distributed and returned by staff constituencies, classroom teachers, specialists, administrators, and classified personnel. Totals are given for each group.

While this resource leads to the setting of clear-cut priorities, two problems exist. One is that the priorities are two or three levels removed from the original list of needs. That is, since the priorities are voted on by constituencies first and then tallied later for the entire staff, the mean score becomes an obfuscation rather than an individual's or a group's real concern.

The other problem is with the mathematical formula used to arrive at the priorities. As some workshop participants pointed out, the "weighted scores tend to skew the priorities in one direction or another." Specific concerns become normed, diversity is lost along with the voice of extreme

factions within a faculty. This process tends to mask some basic concerns and does little to alleviate tensions and hostilities.

Degree of Involvement Poll Workshop. Perhaps the most important TPP technique is the determination of the level at which staff members as a whole want to participate in making decisions. The poll of the staff is an indicator of the manner in which the staff desires to be involved.

The Project has five levels of involvement. The range, from the least to most involvement, is: (1) recommend or suggest ideas; (2) be informed of decisions; (3) be consulted about decisions; (4) approve decisions; (5) authorize decisions. The workshop group is asked which level of involvement they desire. An example of the involvement poll is printed in this form:

1. Instructional Methods and Grouping. Teachers should authorize policies for teacher loads, scheduling patterns, and class composition at the building level.	1. --recommend or suggest ideas. --be informed of decisions --be consulted about decisions --approve decisions --authorize decisions

A check is placed in one of the spaces in the right-hand column. These are then weighted and tallied to produce a score for each assessed need. A summary sheet indicates in a graph the percentage of the staff wanting which degree of involvement in each priority area. These summaries are then returned to the staff.

The same mathematical problem in the tallying formula exists here as with the original priority poll. Two additional problems also appear. First, there are problems in the wording of the items. For example in the item listed above, the issue statement uses the word "authorize" which is listed as the highest level of involvement. Second, there is confusion over each of the terms used to state the degrees of involvement. The differences between approve and authorize are subtle and often confusing. The commitment by an individual

staff member, furthermore, may differ dramatically from the total group's score. Since an individual's or small group's opinion vary in their importance to the political life of the school, the averaged information distorts an important aspect of the reality of implementing a change. It fails to allow for the extremes which often influence and cause changes.

Faculty Progress Workshop. The fourth workshop deals with the assessment of the progress of individual faculties. The session usually emphasizes the sharing of common experiences, often, in a simulated situation. Each participant in the workshop is asked to report (and record) on his or her successes and failures. A form is used which includes these activities in order: needs assessment, priorities poll, degree of involvement poll, constitution reviewed, constitution ratified, and problems processed.

The workshop depends greatly upon the teacher-consultant giving mini-testimonials. Each teacher-consultant in turn, talks about his or her experiences in getting his or her own school governance structures into operation. In a few cases, the respective schools were still in the process of getting the constitutions together or had not completed them. The testimonials tend to give a humanistic, rather than mechanical tone (e.g., the polls in the first and second workshops were statistical exercises) to the workshop. However, the teacher-consultants appear to be "acting on cue" as one participant put it. The situation is stiff and the schedule is tight. There is also a predominance of one-directional communication. As two observers of the workshop pointed out, the participants are being "lectured to" and often are not able to "tell spontaneously their own horror stories."

Finally, in testimonial after testimonial, the workshops turn at some point to discussion of the conflicts with the school administrator(s). While some suggestion is often made to indicate the resolution of a problem, the

"bad guy" is usually the school principal. Some of the teachers in TPP portray themselves as never being at fault. Such a perspective on what the problems are and how to solve them is the initial stumbling block in most schools toward building governance structures. Communication and dialogue do not exist between faculty and administration. However, as the school staff evolves in building TPP into schools, this antagonistic attitude changes. The TPP process itself identifies this area as a major decision point. When adversary roles are eliminated, more collaborative arrangements and progress can occur in the schools.

Constitution Writing Workshop. By the fifth workshop, the participants are ready to formulate a constitution. An example of what an ideal constitution can look like was presented to the teachers in the first phase of the project. This model caused widespread problems throughout the Project. To the administrators, there were provocative words which would undermine the collective bargaining process. To the teachers, the language was "too harsh and militant." Consequently, the model was discarded in TPP's second year and only actual TPP school constitutions were used as models to demonstrate the results of the TPP process.

The Principal Investigator had written a paper that outlined the nine essential elements of a constitution which TPP used (Principal Investigator, 1974:1). Briefly, each constitution includes these elements:

(1) consistent with staff philosophy;
(2) constituent access or representation should allow for effective two-way communication;
(3) equitable representation for each staff member;
(4) agenda control is in the staff or faculty council;

(5) access and control over resources;
(6) adequate time for meetings;
(7) revision and amendment of the constitution;
(8) recourse to resolve differences between the council and others in decision making; and
(9) open communication of meeting minutes and information for council action.

Some of these elements were used in constitution writing during the second year of TPP and this too led to problems. The central office administration felt some of the terminology sounded like rhetoric used in collective bargaining and should not be used in the constitutions. After several complaints from principals over the language of the constitutions, the Superintendent appointed a central office administrator to review the constitutions to be sure that they did not violate any collective bargaining or legal regulations.

Within the schools, the usual process was for the triads to get other teachers involved in writing the drafts of the constitutions. At some point, most drafting committees involved the school administrators.

Ratification of constitutions. Once the constitution had been written, it was brought to the staff for a vote. If approved by a majority, the principal was asked to agree. If not approved by both the faculty and the principal, the writing committee would go back to construct another draft. The process could take months or years. In some cases (usually with smaller faculties), the writing and approval might take only a few weeks. Many schools have had to revise their constitutions because problems arose about who was responsible for what, and how much staff involvement there would be in making the actual decision.

Central administration office review. In part, because of the problems over language usage in the constitution, the Superintendent appointed his chief labor negotiator to review all the school constitutions. To date,

a dozen school constitutions have been reviewed with no problems. Minor wording changes were required in a few cases. The TPP staff saw both the review and the role of the negotiator as an imposition on their Project and reacted with anger and hostility. The teachers saw the labor negotiator as an adversary who could sabotage their efforts.

The TPP staff arranged a briefing session for the labor negotiator which was intended to impress him and to bring him up to date on TPP. The fears of the TPP staff have since been allayed because the labor negotiator has not as yet been a hindrance to the development of any constitution.

To the Central School District administration, there was a clear-cut need to review the possible "hostile language of the constitutions." But there was another more covert reason to assert its influence on the TPP project. The Superintendent had correctly predicted from the beginning that the building principals would want, and needed to be involved in the constitution development. He maintained that they "would have to be involved in TPP to make it work."

The other reason for the central office review of the constitution was to "assure the principals that they were doing all right." The principals had to feel that they could give up some or all of their decision making power and the only place from which they felt secure in receiving approval for that would be the central office. The review process allowed the principals to feel more assured about their own positions.

Policy Committee Acceptance. The National Institute of Education had insisted that the TPP have the constitutions reviewed by the Policy Committee. The Policy Committee tended to accept the constitutions pro forma after

reading them. The chairperson of the Policy Committee sent a letter of review to the school staff and forwarded the constitution to the CCUSD and the CCTA to be filed. Each constitution has received letters of acceptance. None have been refused.

Constitutions on file. Theoretically, this was the last formal step in the process. A constitution was accepted and placed on file in both the CCTA and CCUSD offices. As of the summer of 1976, the constitutions of all twelve TPP schools were on file. Several staffs who had ratified their constitutions now feel that they are in need of revision. Since all constitutions provided for revisions, there have been few conflicts over this need.

CHAPTER VII: TEACHER PARTICIPATION PROCESS AND CONTENT

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TPP was an attempt at planned political change. It was intended to be evolutionary in that the major impetus and initiative were to have come from teacher representatives within schools who would be responsible for spreading the concept to others. This approach is shown in two ways, which are treated in some detail below. They are: (1) the evolutionary process of designing and implementing a change-oriented program within a large public school system; and (2) the evolution of the content of what viable governance structures in a dozen different schools would be. While process and content are not mutually exclusive, for purposes of analysis we shall treat them separately.

Process

Once funds were received for TPP, an immediate implementation problem appeared. Typically, change in public schools comes from the top down. That is, the principal, a central office administrator or the superintendent have an idea or program that is imposed upon the school. Teachers are expected to implement the new concepts and introduce them through in-service training. Rarely are teachers (students or parents) expected to create, design, and implement new ideas or programs. Instead, change is usually in one direction; it comes from the higher authorities down to the school staff and classroom teachers.

TPP was to be different. Teachers were encouraged to act as change agents rather than mere implementors. In theory, the idea was that change would come from the bottom up; the entire change cycle would be reversed. However, the process turned out not to be that simple.

The original impetus for TPP came from a university-trained academic working for a state-wide professional organization. Thus, while the change

did not come from the top down, it did come from outside the school district, which caused a series of related problems. Despite repeated attempts to identify with the local teachers, the original project leader was seen at first as simply another outsider with an idea to peddle. Being a staff member of the State Teacher Association was not the same as teaching daily in a classroom.

This perception led, reportedly, to a direct confrontation with a widely respected local teacher over TPP policy during the first half year of the project. Although that teacher resigned from TPP, the struggle over local control continued and became an important issue in the evolving process. Teachers automatically classified this plan, coming from an outside person, as an imposition on themselves. Tension resulted and loyalties became divided as the local teacher leadership worked to establish its autonomy.

The Principal Investigator at the State Teacher Association wisely recognized the problem and gradually withdrew. By the third year of TPP, the original leaders had no choice but to pull out the STA and let the local teachers own and operate the project. The local Teacher Association wanted the TPP to be totally under its control.

Thus, the project's leadership evolved from an outside full-time change-agent in its first year, to two inside full-time teachers as directors with the original change-agent on twenty percent time during the second year, to an inside consortium of six part-time teachers with the original change-agent as a consultant in the third year, and finally, to the local Teacher Association providing a committee to continue the project. The important evolution was from a one person directorship to a collective ownership. The success in institutionalizing the process might be seen in a direct relationship to the growth of the collective ownership of the project. As the local teachers controlled the project and still taught full-time, they were more effective in perpetuating the TPP governance of schools. However, only empirical data can demonstrate the effectiveness and longevity of teacher governance of schools. The official project itself would disappear in time.

On the personal side, the three teachers who were initially involved in the project implementation, and another larger group of teachers, have all been greatly influenced by the project. Individuals claim to have grown personally and professionally. Clearly, the teachers have gained a heightened consciousness of their personal power and the realizability of professional goals.

The involved teachers have always been politically active within their respective schools; several were leaders (past presidents) of the local Teacher Association and one was active on a state-wide level. However, an interesting shift has occurred over the past three years. The group of teachers now have clearer goals, and more precise plans for change within the schools. Their involvement in TPP has permitted them to translate their political rhetoric into concrete programmatic reality. These observations of the personal and professional growth of the teachers have been substantiated by several other observers of TPP.

Finally, the evolving process has had useful side effects. Originally, school administrators, outside observers, NIE officials (and myself) were skeptical that local teachers could implement and accomplish such a project.* Gradually, the initial skepticism has turned into support for the process as a model for others to follow.

Practitioners find the process intriguing:

1. A change agent and an idea that come from practical experience.
2. The design and implementation of the idea from both the bottom-up and top-down perspectives.
3. Support for the idea backed by skill-building and communication workshops.
4. Ownership of the idea transferred rapidly to the local school staff.

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*On two occasions, I explained the project to separate technical assistance groups that DTA is documenting. Both groups wished that they had done the same thing. Not only did the process make sense but it addressed a number of problems they had faced.

CONTENT

Aside from the TPP process itself, there was a specific evolving content of the governance structures themselves, once they were in place. TPP had correctly deduced that not many teachers were ready to control their schools. The typical teacher was not accustomed to thinking that way; instead the five degrees of involvement moved Faculty Councils from being informed to doing the actual deciding. TPP developed a "degree of involvement poll" that was meant to measure how ready a faculty was to make decisions. At the start a faculty was usually at the "inform" stage. Few schools polled their faculty in the third year, but it was clear from verbal reports, observations, and the internal evaluation that most schools had moved well beyond the informing stage to the deciding stage.

After observing dozens of meetings and interviewing many people, four points emerged as significant in explaining this movement from a peripheral to a central role in decision making. First, as noted earlier, the kinds of issues that faculties considered on their agendas was crucial. Due to traditions of factional politics in the schools, among other reasons, faculties tended at first not to attempt to handle really sensitive or critical school issues. When the Faculty Councils did not deal with these issues the staff lost interest in the Faculty Council as a place to deal with problematic change. However, when significant issues were introduced to the agenda, significant participation increased and continued.

A second, and surprising, finding relative to the evolving degree of teacher participation was the role of skill-building workshops. If anything, the needs assessments, priority polls, and degree of involvement workshop slowed down the process within the school. These techniques were supposedly taught to groups of school staffs so that they would use them at their schools. In fact, the results were more often than not confusing and time consuming. Yet the TPP staff continued with the workshops, through the entire three years, gradually replacing the original Principal Investigator's methods with their own, feeling that the results aided the Faculty Councils.

In some respects the opposite was true and the workshops may have impeded the movement of schools toward developing Faculty Councils that could make substantive decisions. For example, the degree of involvement poll tended to show the faculties reluctant and not quite ready to participate. As a result time was invested in changing this attitude while the fact was, that most faculty members were ready to act when the issues and problems were important enough to warrant action. Thus the workshop results tended to justify a slower involvement policy to both the teacher leadership and the administration.

A third fact revealed in following the evolving program, concerns school leadership. Opinion leaders among the teachers were always the ideal people to recruit for TPP. They were supposedly "the movers" as the TPP staff would say. However, the more visible leaders were often not the ones to lead other faculty. They were simply not the real leaders at the schools. Their visibility was frequently the result of some recognition or committee membership due to the principal's designation.

The real leadership within the school emerged much more slowly. Peer recognition of the leaders appeared to be based upon a solid teaching reputation and a devotion to students. Colleagues had ways of recognizing these leaders even though they were not necessarily the ones who were most frequently in the public eye.

Finally, the issue of control over one's own environment came to the fore. Teachers tended to see their classrooms as their own territory. (They resented being told what to do with their students, yet many recent movements in education have had the effect of penetrating these domains and of challenging the teacher's absolute control over classroom activities.) The opening of classrooms may be positive in the larger context, but it can have devastating consequences in the short run. As a teacher senses a loss of control over the classroom, she/he tends to feel powerless within the entire school or even alienated from what he or she sees as the entire educative process. By offering wider decision-making power, the TPP was seen by some as addressing this problem.

CHAPTER VIII: THE IMPACT OF THE TEACHER PARTICIPATION PROJECT: PROBLEM SOLVING AT THE LOCAL LEVEL

The ethnographic field materials already presented gives context to the survey data which was part of the project's yearly internal evaluation by Dr. John A. Emrick of the Stanford Research Institute.* Emrick's third year findings of the effects of the project on all twelve schools confirm some earlier analyses in this study. The following analysis is built from both the evaluative data and the ethnographic field work.

Survey Findings

First, consider Table I on "Items Indicating School Progress in Implementing School-Site Governance Structures". Clearly , over a three year period, the vast majority of TPP schools have made substantial progress in implementing school-site governance structures: from an average of 38.2% in 1975 to 87.4% in 1977. Exactly 98% of the respondents reported that a Faculty Council had been established in their school by the end of the academic school year in 1977. As we will see later, more Faculty Councils are applying their efforts to "local issues". In 1975, only 42% were, while in 1977, 93% were concerned with local school-site issues.

Equally significant have been the teacher perceptions of "Faculty Council Effectiveness" (Table II). It is one thing for a process, mechanism or structure to be set up and operationalized, but quite another for those involved in its operation to see it as effective. On five different items, the teachers averaged 71.4% in seeing the Faculty Council as effective in 1977. Data does not exist for prior years but two items stand out. One is the fact that 81.8% of the teachers surveyed perceive the Faculty Council as having an "influence...on school conditions and activities." That response directly meets one of the major goals of TPP. The other item, again addresses

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* SRI surveyed all and interviewed some of the teachers in TPP schools plus others in non-TPP schools. The first year a five dollar fee was paid each respondent. Over 60% of the teachers responded. But in the last two years, no fee was offered and only 35-40% responded. SRI claims the fee made the difference; others disagree.

TABLE I

TPP PHASE I, II, AND III SURVEY ITEMS

INDICATING SCHOOL PROGRESS

Progress Indicator	Percent Reporting 1975	1976	1977
Preparation, draft, or revision of constitution	57	80	80*
School ratification of faculty constitution	28	51	82
Establishment of faculty council through TPP	27	52	98
Participation in faculty council election	37	60	84
Application of council to local issues	42	62	93
Average	38.2	61.0	87.4

*This includes initial preparation (10.7%), preliminary draft (26.7%), drafting a revised constitution (36.7%), or utilizing an existing constitution (5.5%).

(Source: J.A. Emrick, SRI, 1977).

TABLE II

TPP PHASE III SURVEY RETURNS FOR ITEMS

COMPRISING OPINION SCALE,

FACULTY COUNCIL

EFFECTIVENESS

Effectiveness Indicator	Percent Positive Responses* 1977
Usefulness of faculty council activities	66.0
Importance of issues addressed so far by faculty council	85.4
Effectiveness of faculty council in increasing teacher involvement in school decisions	67.9
Influence of faculty council on school conditions and activities	81.8
Desired level of influence for faculty council	56.0**
Average	71.4

*Percent of respondents choosing the two most positive response options.

**Percent of respondents indicating faculty council should have "much more" or "some more" influence.

(Source: J. A. Enrick, SRI, 1977).

the issue of substance. Over 85% of the teachers felt that the Faculty Council addressed important issues. Table III demonstrates this point even more explicitly.

Of significance is the shift, over a three year period, in what the teachers believe are "Most Important Involvement Issues." As I will show later in the follow-up on the mini-case studies, this is a significant discovery. In the first two years of TPP, teachers ranked the "School budget and expenditures" as sixth out of eight items on their list of concerns; but by 1977, it was ranked as third. The issue even replaced "Student personnel policies and discipline" which is often a major concern of teachers. Chapter II showed how much of a concern student discipline can be and how destructive such a pedagogical issue can be to a faculty.

The increased concern over school budget and expenditures parallels the findings in Chapter III and IV which reported that teachers felt ignored, left out, and not in control of school programs within their building. The next section describes an actual case in which a council switched from considering mundane issues to substantive issues such as the school budget.

As Table IV demonstrates, teachers felt that TPP had met its goals. A vast majority favored involvement in school decision making. While most teachers approved of the TPP goals in the first year, they embraced them even more so in the Project's last year.

Several items, abstracted from tables not listed here, suggested to project personnel that the Faculty Council will survive after TPP disappears. For example, teachers responded as follows to the questionnaire item:

	Percent Positive Responses		
	1975	1976	1977
There is general (broad-based) support among our faculty for the concept of teacher involvement in instructional decision making.	31.6	56.9	68.8

(Source: J. A. Emrick, SRI, 1977).

This increase in support is dramatic. Two other factors crucial to any future continuation of the project without outside funding are the principal's and Superintendent's continued support. Two items queried teacher perceptions of the administration's view of the TPP:

Survey Item	Percent Positive Responses 1975	1976	1977
Do you think your principal supports or opposes increased teacher involvement in your school's decision making?	62.6	70.0	71.6
Do you think the superintendent supports or opposes increased teacher involvement in school decision making?	58.1	63.7	70.8

(Source: J. A. Emrick, SRI, 1977).

These results suggest that the process is well on the way to being institutionalized. Several other survey items correlate with these findings. Table V best summarizes the teachers' perceptions of the work of their Faculty Councils. Overall it indicates a closer and more cooperative effort among the faculty.

Table IV contains two additional items revealing the impact of TPP.

TABLE III

TPP PHASE I, II, AND III PARTICIPANT ENDORSEMENTS

OF MOST IMPORTANT INVOLVEMENT ISSUES

Involvement Issue	Percent Endorsing as Most Important* 1975	1976	1977
Roles of certificated and classified support personnel	16.5 (7)	12.0 (7)	11.4 (7)
Guidelines for parent/teacher relationships	5.3 (8)	4.9 (8)	7.2 (8)
Curriculum content and philosophy	43.1 (1)	51.0 (1)	50.6 (1)
Instructional methods and grouping	32.8 (2)	33.7 (2)	39.8 (2)
Student personnel policies and discipline	29.8 (3)	27.7 (3)	21.7 (4)
School budget and expenditures	17.0 (6)	19.0 (6)	25.9 (3)
Inservice training and faculty meetings	25.3 (4)	21.7 (4)	19.3 (5)
Teacher personnel policies	24.9 (5)	20.7 (5)	16.3 (6)

*Respondents were asked to select the two most important issues among those listed. Entry in parentheses ( ) indicates rank order of choice.

(Source: J. A. Emrick, SRI, 1977).

TABLE IV

TPP PHASE I, II, AND III SURVEY RETURNS FOR ITEMS

COMPRISING OPINION SCALE 1: TIP GOALS

Survey Item	1975	1976	1977
Most of the teachers in this school would like to be involved in school decisions	72.2	79.5	84.7
Faculty involvement activities cause more work than they are worth	28.6*	29.2*	19.3*
Increased teacher involvement in school decision making will help promote a sense of community and teamwork among the faculty	84.1	87.1	94.4
Increased involvement in school decision making would heighten teachers' sense of professionalism	80.4	79.9	87.3
The Teacher Participation Project is a waste of time	22.5*	23.3*	21.3*
All in all, do you think increased teacher involvement in school decisions is a good idea?	94.0	95.4	95.1
Average[1]	79.9	81.6	86.8
The Teacher Participation Project will help improve teacher effectiveness		72.6	93.1
Average		80.3	87.7
Teacher involvement in decision making will produce important benefits for students			95.6

[1] In calculating the average figures, the complement of the items that have asterisks was used in order to have a consistently positive response. Emrick presents this methodology in detail in his report.

(Source: J. A. Emrick, SRI, 1977)

TABLE V

TPP PHASE I, II, AND III SURVEY RETURNS

FOR ITEMS COMPRISING OPINION

SCALE 2: LOCAL PRIORITIES

Survey Item	Percent Responding "Completely" or "Mostly Agree" 1975	1976	1977
Do you agree or disagree with the priorities that have been identified by your faculty?	62.6	74.0	76.7
To what extent do you agree with the contents of your faculty's constitution?	36.4	70.7	83.7
Average	49.5	72.4	80.2
In general, do you agree or disagree with the decisions made by your faculty council?			97.5

(Source: J. A. Emrick, SRI, 1977).

TABLE VI

TPP PHASE I, II, AND III SURVEY RETURNS

FOR ITEMS COMPRISING OPINION SCALE 5:

TPP EFFECTIVENESS

Survey Item	Percent Positive Response 1975	1976	1977
Are you more or less involved in school decisions now than you were a year ago?	41.2	49.7	50.6
How effective do you think the faculty council will be/has been* in increasing teacher involvement in school decisions?	48.5	63.1	67.9
Average	44.8	56.4	59.2

*Second wording used in 1977 Phase III Survey.

(Source: J. A. Emrick, SRI, 1977).

First, the teachers were asked if "teacher involvement in decision making will produce important benefits for students." An overwhelming 95.6% said yes. In other words, teacher involvement is viewed as having a positive and substantial effect on student achievement.

The other item to note in Table IV refers to the teachers' own opinions of themselves. When teachers were asked if TPP would "help improve teacher effectiveness," 93.1% in 1977 responded positively. That was a significant increase over the same item in 1976, where 72.6% agreed and it was an indication that teachers got a great deal, personally, from being involved in decision making. Table VI adds even more evidence that teachers have increased their own personal involvement in making school decisions from 41.2% in 1975 to 50.6% in 1977; and the teachers see the Faculty Council as being effective with their increased involvement from 48.5% in 1975 to 67.9% in 1977.

Both the field and survey data give support to the conclusion that TPP has made an impact on its schools. (1) It achieved most of its goals; (2) transmitted the concept of governance structures to twelve schools; (3) won the support of faculties, administrators, and others; (4) took important steps to institutionalize the process; and (5) was perceived by teachers to have positive effects on their teaching and students' learning. To provide some descriptive context to these conclusions and generalized statistical results, some specific examples from the field work are discussed next.

The Policy Committee

The Policy Committee (see organizational chart in Chapter V) was established under pressure from the funding agency (NIE). Originally in the first year of funding, only teachers were voting members of the Policy Committee, and most of the teachers were from non-funded schools. But, because of pressures from the School District and NIE, a voting parent and two non-voting administrators were brought into the Policy Committee in the fall of 1975 (second year of funding). By the third year of funding, everyone voted. These new members did not cause dramatic changes, but attended meetings regularly and were supportive of TPP.

Throughout the fall, quorums had been hard to obtain. By February 1976, however, at least nine schools regularly were sending representatives, as well as the one parent and two administrators to the meetings. During the fall of 1976, the number of non-voting TPP staff members and observers typically equalled the number of voting members.

There are several explanations for this increase in active teacher participation at the meetings. The meetings were geared to last only two hours; the meetings were separate from the TPP workshops; the mini-grants attracted interest; publicity about TPP had increased and the TPP staff sought it through presentations to the School Board, a local Congressman, and a press conference among other things. Whatever the reasons, the initially unsettling prospect of teachers becoming involved in school decision making did gain acceptance by both teachers and administrators.

Most principals were ready to lead their school's participation in TPP. TPP staff members saw these actions as co-optation, but reluctantly accepted them. Administrators were opening up to the idea because, in part,

it was clear that TPP would be active for at least another year or more. The strategy of the middle-management administration (e.g., vice principals, counselors, and central office staff) appeared to be to go along with the program now in order to avoid confrontation with interested teachers, but they were resistant, hostile and frustrated by TPP. They tended to believe that the funding and the interest in TPP would wane and things would revert to the way they had been. This view seems to have been widespread in the central School District office.

Increased involvement by administrators legitimized participation by teachers. The teachers expended energy in going to meetings, writing constitutions, and conferring with other teachers. As long as all these activities did not impinge upon the principal's power and authority there were no problems. The increased participation on Policy Committee was parallelled and perhaps spurred on by increased activity at several schools. Vallejo Elementary School is a good example.

Increasing Participation at Vallejo Elementary School

One plausible explanation for the rise in activity at Vallejo lies in the principal's new interest in TPP. He attended the TPP workshop with a Mexican-American teacher and the TPP teacher-consultant. No other teachers from Vallejo were present. Yet at the workshop in mid-spring the Vallejo staff announced that "they would call a meeting the next week to draft the school constitution." This was a great step forward. The presence and interest of the principal was no doubt important. "Now Vallejo would get moving," was the consensus.

Vallejo polled its faculty during its first year in TPP to set priorities. Although writing the school constitution had been stalled throughout most of the 1975-76 school year, the meetings to draft the constitution during the third year went well. Administrators and teachers alike joined in the effort and by the spring of 1977, a constitution was overwhelmingly approved.

Other reasons for the change at Vallejo might be similar to those offered earlier in reference to the Policy Committee. In particular, the principal was generally favorable to TPP's activities. He liked the idea when it was first presented but concluded he "was only in the first year of his job and uncertain." The first workshop that he attended in March 1976 impressed him. He liked "the content and ideas that were exchanged". The brief appearance of the Superintendent also gave TPP some legitimacy.

Furthermore, the Vallejo principal perceived the Faculty Council as a possible aid to him in managing the diverse activities at his school. Vallejo was a relatively large elementary school (over 650 students and 80 staff members) with over twenty-eight special projects. The principal saw a need to pull all these diverse interests and people together. Though he called upon a number of people for advice, he sensed a need to have a permanent organizational structure that would contribute to solving problems. He thus, saw TPP as an important tool that could be used in running his school. His recognition of TPP's importance and his own participation encouraged the teachers to start or increase their own involvement.

John Adams Middle School

The situation at John Adams was different from that at Vallejo. The principal fully supported the project, but did very little to actively implement the process. His school was one of the first to approve a constitution,

but problems persisted, in part because he was unwilling to lead and, in part, because he had a factionalized faculty that was only now coming together and seeking power. The immediate target of the Faculty Council's attempt to gain power was the vice-principal, a woman who was seen as frequently diverting the Council into unproductive activities.

The Council considered problems such as snack time duty, student discipline, soda machine receipts, and a teacher lounge. As a result, many faculty members saw the Council as "gossipy" and "a waste of time". Attendance dropped and the first Council President resigned. The vice-principal said that she wanted the Council to deal with more important issues but she consistently ignored the Council as in the case of her Bilingual Program. In early January 1977, I stepped out of my neutral role as observer and suggested to a teacher (the new Faculty Council President) and a counselor, the possibility of placing on the Council's agenda two substantive issues.

The new Council President and the administrative representative (the counselor) did place on their next Council agenda two issues that were significant and would attract attention. The two issues were the selection of a new principal, and the school budget. The agenda attracted the Council's first quorum (almost perfect attendance) in weeks. The meeting was lively and exciting.

Agenda Item: Selection of New Principal. After the rumor that the principal would be leaving in the next year was confirmed, the Council wanted to know how and when a new principal would be selected. School District policy had always excluded school personnel in the selection of a new principal. The task was "always handled downtown." The Council, however, insisted on finding out if the staff could participate and several resolutions to that effect were passed.

As a result of the Council President's letter to the Superintendent, the staff at John Adams was asked to elect representatives to a selection committee. Three faculty members, a student, a parent, and the present administrator were to be elected. Members of those groups had never participated before in such an important task.

The Council polled the faculty to develop selection criteria. Just as the selection committee was about to begin its deliberations, the vice-principal transferred to another school and the principal was turned down for another position. The principal remained to open school in September, 1977, but the precedent had been set and staff input into personnel hiring was possible in the future.

Agenda Item: School Budget. This issue was as difficult as the selection of a new principal. Traditionally, the heads of each department prepared and administered the school budget. The request of the Faculty Council to be involved was a direct attack on the old system.

The principal tried, initially, to avoid the issue by referring consideration of the school budget to his department heads, but the Faculty Council insisted on dealing with it. After several months of struggling over who should be informed on the school budget, the Council demanded that it be a part of its preparation and approval. Unfortunately, the issue was still not resolved by the end of the 1977 school year, but again, a precedent had been set.

The Council members gained strength through their participation in these issues. By the end of the school year, it became clear that when substantive issues and problems were addressed by the Faculty Council, involvement and impact on school decision making increased dramatically. Attendance at Faculty Council meetings was well above a quorum. But there were still problems.

The rise of a new coordinated power within the school meant that individuals and groups who heretofore were in power, had to give way. This is not an easy adjustment to make and new struggles developed as substantive issues were handled by the new political process.

Analytical Considerations

The impact of the TPP on Central City Schools is revealed by looking at a set of contrasting concepts important in school politics. Each is briefly discussed as it reveals important changes or problems resulting from the TPP experience.

Leadership-Followership. School staffs tend to think of the principal as the leader and teachers as the followers. To some extent the TPP reversed these roles. The teachers are the leaders in organizing and institutionalizing a structure for governance by the faculty. For many principals, this reversal was threatening. The threat can also affect middle-management administrators and the teachers who traditionally avoid making decisions outside of the classroom.

Most threatened are the middle managers, e.g., the vice-principals and the counselors. In political terms, they fear that the importance of their roles may be diminished, since as teachers demand more participation in decision making, their demands fall first upon those matters controlled by the middle managers such as scheduling, school activities, discipline or room assignments. The middle managers resist in a variety of ways.

Power from Above and Below. Closely related to the first issue is the one of distribution of power in a school. Numerous studies have defined the office of the principal as the primary source of power both *de jure* and *de facto*. Yet social scientists know that middle managers, opinion leaders,

classified employees, and curriculum leaders (department heads) all are potentially powerful. In fact, since the principal is often far removed from the daily operations of a school, even in the smaller elementary school, much of his or her power is delegated to the middle managers. As evidence of this several principals brought their middle managers or other influential staff members to TPP workshops. Here it became evident that middle managers' interests were in conflict with those of the teachers. As teachers become more active in decision making, conflicts are inevitable in this area.

Expert-Colleague. One source of an individual's influence is information and knowledge. The administrators see themselves as school experts, whereas the teachers consider the administrators to be too far removed from the classroom to know what goes on. The administrators are outsiders from the viewpoint of the classroom teachers. On the other hand, teachers claim to know about the school's operations from their own experience, that of other teachers, and their own observations. The teachers often see themselves as knowing the correct administrative answers. "If only the administration would run this school like I run the classroom" is a typical attitude.

The expert-colleague issue became extremely important in TPP. School staffs tend to resist experts, seeing their advice as an affront to their own professionalism. The original Principal Investigator spoke like a teacher but was not seen that way by the local teachers. Both administrators and teachers alike resented the implication that she was needed in the general guidance of TPP. As one central office administrator put it, "The Principal Investigator is fine as a consultant to run only workshops. We all learn something from that." However, there was even tension between the TPP staff and the Principal Investigator over the workshops. The teachers saw themselves as knowledgeable colleagues who knew what was best; the Principal

investigator thought she knew. In the eyes of the TPP teachers, the Principal Investigator took on the role of an expert and not a colleague.

Staff-Administrators. School administrators were often referred to as "glory seekers" by teachers. For example, some teachers felt that the only reason the principal of John Adams got involved in TPP was to further his administrative career. After all, they said, "Principals are only in a particular school for three or four years, then they move on to a university or central office position." The teachers, for the most part, remain at the same school for many more years or only transfer to a "better school" to teach.

Many teachers were involved in TPP because they saw it not only as a way to participate in current school decisions, but also as a stabilizer in setting school policy. Aside from the rhetoric of TPP, teachers frequently said that a school constitution would ensure continuity in their school's administration. Traditionally, teachers had to break in a new principal every few years. With TPP, a steady, institutionalized group of their peers could operate the school and ensure a continuation of programs and policies. Teachers believed themselves, not administrators, to be the logical stable force to set school policy.

Mandarins-Professionals. Not all teachers saw TPP as a legitimate professional activity, but as an advocacy program and therefore nonprofessional. "The role of a teacher is to teach only," said members of this group. "Leave the advocacy to the principals." In this view principals become mandarins; that is, a group of experts whose legitimacy is solely legal. They are expected only to administer. Almost everyone seemed to agree that with or without TPP the administrator's duty was to carry out policies decided by the group. "Administrators are paid to do that," said many teachers.

The distinction between administration and professional teaching activities became an important issue in faculty discussions about what the teachers were or were not to do. Most teachers saw themselves as classroom teachers only. What happened to students in the halls, playground, cafeteria, or after school was the administration's problem. Therefore, teachers wanted TPP to ensure that they would only have to teach. But administrators wanted teachers to do other things outside the classroom. The result was a conflict over the basic issue of what teaching was and was not. Faculty Councils had to confront the topic in a variety of circumstances. The teachers wanted to protect their domains and the administrators wanted them to expand their duties. This meant that discussions about faculty constitutions, which went smoothly when they dealt with the process for decision making, became difficult as soon as the staff brought up substantive issues.

Change - Status Quo. TPP appears to be an innovative concept. However, it can be used to impede change. Creating consensus among faculty members exposes innovation to moderating political forces. Even administrators who were not seen as the most enlightened group, found their attempts to change schools resisted by faculties who were suspicious of administrators and protective of their private domains.

Administration and teachers found themselves at cross-purposes when they worked for more teacher involvement. Increased participation by administrators and teachers arises from differing assumptions about school change. The issue of mini-grants is illustrative. For the teacher, the small amounts of money they could get meant consultants, materials, or teacher-oriented programs. Administrators saw the money as deflecting the teachers' from their teaching duties.

Outsiders-Insiders. According to administrators, an outsider, anyone who was not a member of a school faculty, is a threat. In many ways, that included all of TPP, since it was not functioning as part of the School District. More especially, however, outsiders to the administrators were people like those with the Teacher Association, SRI, or DTA. The latter was the least threatening because of its established non-participatory role, but the other two were frequently seen as meddling and troublesome. This problem was attenuated after a year and a half by the fact that the staff representing the Teacher Association and SRI were now playing more minor roles in the project. The original Principal Investigator became virtually only a workshop leader during the second year, and an observer in the third year.

The teachers and the TPP teacher-consultants share the administrative view about outsiders. The TPP staff was very sensitive to this issue since they felt that they too could be considered outsiders within local schools other than their own. Both co-directors in the second year, decided not to continue with the directorship of TPP in its last year due to their reluctance to be perceived as outsiders by their peers. To remain "outsiders" to the schools for another year could have jeopardized their own teaching careers.

CHAPTER IX: CHANGE IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS: REFLECTIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

This case study has examined three public schools where latent political behavior caused turmoil and conflict among the staff. Student learning suffered and the staff felt largely powerless and frustrated. In two of the schools, TPP made an appreciable impact on this situation. The establishment of a school-site governance structure provided a mechanism by which political behavior could become more manifest. Staff members began to openly address substantive issues and had a real part in developing creative solutions.

Three themes have been developed throughout this study. In a previous chapter, we examined the process of change, and noted its inexorable evolutionary character. Clearly, this is one of the major lessons learned from this research effort. Directly related to it are the practical issues of school management, project impact, and the roles of change agents. From the data, a new profession appears to be emerging within public education; the internal change agent. Attached to this new profession are certain qualifications, roles, responsibilites, and functions (Schmuck, et al, 1976; and Schmuck and Runkel, 1977).

At this point, the other two major themes of this case study need some explanation. First, schools are political organizations but they have long been treated by scholars (Zeigler, 1975; and Zeigler et. al., 1974) and politicians as apolitical institutions. This is an unfortunate contradiction since school practitioners openly recognize the politics of their institutions. By our definition of politics some purposeful actions that were observed or had been reported in the Central City School District could be viewed as political (Clark, 1977). We saw politics in personal and professional

relationships, as some individuals struggled to place themselves , as well as others, in a role that would be personally tolerable and socially acceptable. Implied in this struggle to define a situation for oneself and others is the central question of responsibilities and expectations.

Political behavior is the attempt of individuals or groups to gain power and authority over other people or events. The moment anyone succeeds in defining a situation for others, a political transaction has taken place. The most important step has been taken toward determining the decisions that others must make. A principal who defines teachers as "irresponsible", because they avoid making decisions which will change their professional attitudes and their behavior toward students, places teachers in an onerous position. If the teachers accept his definition of the situation, then they assume the responsibility for proving something to themselves or the principal.

On the other hand, if a teacher believes that a principal is irresponsible in his approach to student discipline and persuades others that this is so, then he or she places the principal in a troublesome position. Now the principal is compelled to prove something to himself and to others. Professional credibility and self-esteem are at stake in both instances. The essence of political behavior is to gain control of the situation by defining the terms in which interaction between oneself and others will take place. Defining the situation is the essence of control precisely because it establishes who has power and authority.

School politics involves much more than questions of salaries and tenure, textbooks and teaching methods. School politics involve interpersonal

behavior because schools operate through human social relationships. Win/lose situations detract from teaching and learning because they create continuous tension and force everyone concerned into manipulating others in order to survive.

The thrust of our argument is this: factionalism and conflict in the public schools will continue until the fact of political behavior is accepted and specific means are provided for processing issues in more open and honest ways. The Teacher Participation Project argues for the creation of an internal school political process which removes the threat of tension and opens up the possibility of frank discussion and free debate. In such an atmosphere, winning and losing become exercises in persuasion and negotiation, not isolation and intimidation. No one is to blame when positions are replaced by issues, and issues are open to negotiation.

School principals are, by role definition, administrative politicians whereas teachers' political behavior is affected by their immediate problems or needs. The principal's role changes as the situation changes in response to local policies and community pressures. Policies, such as decentralization and innovation, compel school administrators to broaden the concept of their role in response to new expectations. Teachers and counselors, parents and students all have a variety of often conflicting needs and expectations. A principal who wishes to survive and make a creditable record must be aware of these changing expectations. Principals must also develop a style which enables them to play the complex role of institutional leader effectively.

We have observed principals alternately listening to grievances, and pressing for innovation in their relationships with teachers and counselors.

We have also heard them express their grievances and aspirations as they relate to the overall school situation and to the specific ways in which the principal plays his role. In effect, the principal has become the central actor in a process which requires skills in reconciling institutional continuity and institutional change. The principal often walks a tightrope. His or her sense of the situation is crucial in determining his or her effectiveness as a leader.

Traditionalists, those opposed to change, and innovators, those embracing dramatic changes, exist in every public school system. In Central City, the traditionalists and the innovators are struggling for the power and the authority required to redefine their educational situation. Relationships among teachers and students, citizens and administrators, are all undergoing re-examination and redefinition. In its very nature, this is a situation which is laden with political implications at every level. Policies of decentralization and innovation insure that this struggle for power will occur before the educational situation at each school site has been restructured, bringing order out of chaos. Everyone involved senses this, although few are willing to admit it and discuss it openly. "Politics" is still a forbidden topic to the teachers and administrators, although it is an ever present fact in everyone's daily life.

The third theme from the case study is the tentative conclusion from the data which demonstrates that teacher participation in school-site governance leads to better teaching and student learning performance. According to both the qualitative and quantitative data, it is clear that teachers are more satisfied with their jobs and sense more control over their work environment. These are considered crucial variables, by scholars, in the improvement

of performance (HEW, Report, 1973; Sheppard and Herrick 1972; Davis and Cherns, 1975; and Blauner, 1964). Once teacher performance is improved then, presumably, student achievement may be significantly and positively influenced (Aronowitz, 1973; Yankelovich, 1974).

Essentially, the logic of our argument goes this way. Schools have been plagued by covert political behavior on the part of most staff members for decades. Such behavior is not unusual since it can be found in other complex organizations and institutions. Some of the research literature on the sociology of work has shown that when workers become alienated from decisions which effect their everyday lives, they might resort to political maneuvering in order to survive.

Most complex organizations, as a result of the political behavior of the workers, appear to outsiders as chaotic institutions. This is the image of many public schools. The problem is compounded when teachers are increasingly told by others what and how to teach and which curricula to pursue. The teacher is no longer a creative human doing his/her job, but has to spend energy on political survival. The teacher becomes alienated from the students, the subject matter, and the educative process.

The impact on student achievement could be related to loss of control over one's work environment (Clark and Crochenberg, 1978). One can ask why student achievement (especially in cities) has dropped significantly over the past ten years while state and federal aid to education has quadrupled. The blame can not be placed solely upon the teachers because as a profession, they are more highly skilled and competent than ever before. Instead, we might look at a very simple hypothesis: teachers are not able to teach because they no longer have control over their work environment; therefore students are not able to learn. More research is needed on this hypothesis. However, several speculative aspects are worth discussing here.

Some critics of this hypothesis argue that if teachers are too pressured and busy today how would their participation in decision making alleviate the situation. "Wouldn't the teachers be more encumbered by extra duties and responsibilities?" The question requires two levels of response. One is the fact that organizational change is evolutionary. A previous chapter discusses the process and content of evolutionary change. In the initial phases of participation in decision making, teachers (and others) find it difficult and frustrating. Hence, more time and energy is expended. Only after the change has become comfortable and established will people accept it. Furthermore, the use of governance structures to process school-site politics has contributed to a lessening of the covert political behavior among the staff. This change alone has given teachers more opportunity to teach and requires that less energy be spent in manipulating and maneuvering for power.

The other level could be seen as the redefinition of the educative process. Teachers will never be able to retreat to their classrooms, as in "the good old days." Public policy, societal pressures, and individual needs will not allow that. Teachers can no longer treat discipline as an administrative problem. Administrators, likewise, cannot make unilateral and isolated decisions. The design of a bilingual program has a direct impact on all the teachers in the building as well as the students and parents.

Thus, teachers must have increased responsibility to decide upon policies relating to student behavior and discipline, as should students and parents also. The teachers' role would be to enforce such a policy everywhere. The teacher cannot expect the administrator to be the sole enforcer. The same argument exists for the students and parents. They too must change their roles from passive receivers of policy to active developers and enforcers.

The school is a totality which requires people to participate and interact constantly. If these encounters can be made constructive and productive through governance structures, then the teachers will be able to teach and students can learn. The numerous distractions to both these efforts can be handled and resolved to everyone's satisfaction. We have seen this happen in Central City. It is not an easy path to follow but it is one which has tremendous potential.

As one example of this potential, the State of California enacted legislation (September 1977) which would substantially improve the environment of schools through "school-site councils." Many of the provisions in the act (A.B. 65 is its nickname) call for exactly the kind of elements found in the Teacher Participation Project. Politics have finally "come out of the closet and into the open."

We have argued, based upon our extensive field research, that a political mechanism is necessary within schools in order to process the conflicts and crises that arise every day. Furthermore, the Teacher Participation Project demonstrated that such a formal process helps make school staffs more resourceful rather than more conservative. In the schools of our study, we noted how Faculty Councils tended to evolve not only in their own ability to function and act upon issues, but also, in their attempts to bring to the surface problems that had been troubling members of the school staff. The entire concept of governance structures for schools holds much potential and promise. Clearly, school politics must be channeled into productive avenues for debate, discussion, and resolution. As long as we ignore or belittle the political nature of any human organization, chaos and confusion will be the norm. We

believe strongly that chaos is functional. But we also believe that chaos need not be the normative behavior within schools. As the Teacher Participation Project has shown, once teachers have established a mechanism through which problems can be processed, the tasks of teaching and learning can be accomplished.

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APPENDICES

A. Research Methodology for the Teacher Participation Project

B. Example of Interview Schedule for Teacher Participation Project

C. About the Author

APPENDIX A: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY FOR THE TEACHER PARTICIPATION PROJECT

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY FOR THE TEACHER PARTICIPATION PROJECT

By systematically presenting my research activities, I will provide the context for my findings. The idea is to expose the mystique that often surrounds research. I do so in an attempt to demystify the research process and clarify the data collection and analytical findings.

My research method in the later stages, stems largely from symbolic interaction (Blumer, 1969). During the course of my research, I shifted from a passive observational mode into a more active in-depth interviewing one. Blumer argues that researchers must pursue and analyse all perspectives of a problem, event or situation. I will provide details on that process below but suffice it to say that grounded theoretical considerations have provided the basis for this planned change (Strauss and Glaser, 1969).

To provide some direction to the research, I developed several grounded "hunches" or theories that tended to give some comparative context to site specific issues. Throughout the research process, I would construct interview questions for participants in the Teacher Participation Project. Appendix B is a detailed outline of the questions that I would ask in one or several interviews. I hired a research assistant who would do likewise. Our purpose was to question a variety of people in various roles who were directly involved in TPP as well as those who were only marginally interested.

Research Stages

The documentation of the Teacher Participation Project can be divided into four distinct research stages: (1) Rapport-building; (2) Group observations; (3) Group and individual interviews; and (4) Individual observations. Each research stage is linked directly to a particular qualitative methodology. The data collection was often coordinated with internal evaluation of TPP. The methodologies were not mutually exclusive.

The research stages could be separated somewhat along monthly segments of time. The stages are: Rapport-Building (June-September, 1975); (2) Group Observations (mid September, 1975 - March 1978); (3) Interviewing (March-June 1976); and (4) Individual Observations (to end of field work).

Stage One: Rapport-Building (June-September 1975)

To build an information base, I consulted a number of sources, including census data, county and city records, official reports, and news media. The most important sources, however, were a series of interviews that I conducted with the key TPP leaders in the late summer of 1975. I had been collecting demographic data for two months prior to these interviews, but the sessions provided me with an opportunity for indepth, face-to-face interaction. These interviews were crucial in building rapport.

In most cases, they lasted about two hours and took place in a variety of places. At the conclusion of the interview, as part of my rapport-building strategy, I would usually try to follow up on issues and would be sure to get back to the interviewee with a question or idea that I had committed myself to pursue further. That is, during the interview, I might mention an article to which I had access which might interest the interviewee. Later, I would be sure to send the interviewee a copy with a thank you note followed by a phone call. This procedure did three things: (1) the interviewee saw me as a potential source for ideas; (2) the interviewee learned that I was dependable; and (3) the interviewee would usually reciprocate with data on the project. Rapport was thus being constructively built since the interviewee felt comfortable and confident about my research.

Of the indepth interviews that I conducted, the situations in which they occurred varied considerably. One interview was conducted in the TPP office; another in a restaurant. The most unusual occurred literally "on the run."

I met the interviewee in an office. With the ringing phone and people dropping in, the scene was not at all conducive for an interview. I had to shift gears, and decided to ask some biographical questions about the interviewee's involvement in TPP. By doing so, the interviewee would get material off the bookshelves which provided a substantial source for the background data and the philosophy behind TPP. In addition, we generated a list of materials from a brochure of the parent organization's publications. I promptly ordered them. All of this, including the general environment in which the interviewee worked, helped build a picture of TPP.

The real rapport-building in this case came, however, when the interviewee had several errands to run. The interviewee asked if I wanted to come along. "We could talk more then and even stop for lunch." That was fine with me. We stopped to deliver some packages; went to a car dealership to get a part; and then arrived at a sandwich shop for lunch. During all this time, we talked about TPP and I took notes. Afterwards, I promised to send the interviewee some papers that I had written on anthropology and education, subjects that interested this person. Since that time we have talked about a wide-range of topics. At one point, as evidence of the rapport building, this interviewee asked me to participate twice on a statewide panel for a conference on research in classrooms. Although I was unable to attend, I did recommend several people, one of whom was chosen and did participate.

This is just one example of rapport-building through the use of interviews. In other words, the reasons for conducting interviews are not just limited to specific data collection; they are equally important in building trust. In fact, when interviews are given early on in the process of entering a culture, their only legitimate function is the building

of rapport between people. All the factual information must be placed in a questionable category since the interviewee does not know the researcher well enough yet; and the researcher does not know the culture of the interviewee well enough to assess the validity of the material. In terms of data collection through interviews, content is a crucial factor. The researcher must not only know the right questions to ask, but also must know when to probe into the deeper meanings of the responses. At any rate, the data must be thought of as suspect until it can be checked for reliability and validity.

Other research methods were implemented in Stage One to provide me with entry data into the culture but they were primarily efforts to build rapport with the project participants. In other words, I had to learn about Central City and specifically about the local Teacher Association so that I could relate better to the people in TPP. The first task was to gather some demographic material. I got data from the Chamber of Commerce, the County Welfare Office, the County Education Office, CCUSD and City Hall. Because I was around TPP and CCTA so often, I got information from the personnel involved in these organizations. All of this statistical data portrayed people as numbers, tests, and percentages. It was interesting to note the housing and business activities of the city as well as the CCUSD statistical breakdown of students, staffs and facilities. These quantitative figures allowed me to see patterns and concentrations of people by race, class, and zoning areas.

The picture had to be completed, however, with more humanistic data. What was Central City like in terms of the people themselves? For that information I went to the School of Education at Central City State University, several community organizations, and watched and read the local news media. Initially, I identified one person as a key informant from TPP. I also took dozens of pictures of the TPP schools, students and the surrounding communities.

The key informant (Person X) had been most helpful in Stage One and Stage Two of the research. Person X and I would meet frequently to talk about ourselves and the project. Person X had been assigned the official role of project liaison between TPP and DTA so that the relationship was seen by others as perfectly legitimate. However, as time progressed Person X's information became more and more insightful in terms of predictions, individual behavior, and interpersonal conflicts. I checked out each piece of information and was impressed with Person X's ability to size up the situation. I depended upon Person X for information about past and future events. Later on, toward the middle of Stage Two, I realized that I may have leaned too heavily upon this informant. I felt that other project people noticed my reliance upon Person X so I began the gradual process of moving away from Person X.

The relationship with Person X helped build rapport in two conflicting yet appropriate ways. Since Person X was not a member of the core TPP, I was able to gain some legitimacy among the regular non-TPP teachers. I was accepted at the school building level and not seen as just another member of the TPP prying into their professional lives. The conflicting aspect was Person X's role as a liaison to DTA. As Person X put it, "The TPP wanted to get me out of their way." Person X was vocal and critical of TPP, so assigning Person X a menial task would help get rid of Person X. In short, I was doing the TAG a favor by keeping Person X busy which was ironic since Person X knew this all along.

One last point concerns the focus of my research activities in Stage One. Twelve schools were involved in TPP. I could not possibly cover all of them; therefore, with the TPP staff, we agreed that I would pay particular attention to three: Vallejo Elementary School, John Adams Middle School, and

Central City High School. Each is a feeder school to the other and was at a different level of involvement in TPP. Vallejo had a triad but no constitution; John Adams had an operating constitution; Central City High was not even officially in TPP but had sent representatives to some of their workshops. Each school was a unique and useful entity to focus upon.

Stage Two: Group Observations (Mid-September 1975 to March 1976)

The primary mode for recording data was through the use of field notes that were rewritten and coded on field data forms. While I had used this system in Stage One, it was used much more frequently in Stages Two and Three. The reasons were: (1) the DTA data system required the standardization of field notes for future analysis and technical assistance to other school districts, and (2) the role of the site researcher was defined as that of a non-participant observer so that I was usually observing people's individual or group behavior rather than inquiring or participating in their everyday life. Consequently, almost all of the field data forms are recordings of observable meetings and group behavior.

As with most organizations, TPP people like to get together and talk about their problems and needs. Meetings can displace task productivity, so that in order to get some work completed staff members must do it at home. Even while in the office, there are phone calls to answer and paper work to be done. But meetings serve another function also, because they provide people with an opportunity to interact face-to-face and thus enhance interpersonal communications. Without meetings, there is a tendency for individuals or small groups to go off in a variety of often conflicting directions. Gossip and rumor can prevail in these sub-collectivities. The same

can happen in group meetings when "we-they" or "in-out" groups are established.

The research problem is two-fold: (1) which meetings do you choose to observe and (2) what are the really important aspects of the meeting's format - the formal or informal agenda? Early in Stage Two (mid-September), I had to make some hard choices. At first, I attempted to cover every meeting and to record all the discussions within each session. Soon, this task became impossible and I had to select certain meetings and focus only upon some of the content. Then another question arose: was I being excluded from some meetings?

For example, I had been told that everything would be open to me: files, people, schools, and meetings. However, by Stage Two, I was aware that file information was not readily available. Understandably, rapport-building was not complete since total trust did not yet exist. For example, data in the TPP office was not totally available because I was referred to the duplicate files at SRI where another problem existed. The TPP Principal Investigator had taken steps to review all the material prior to my visits to see that I would only get data that I requested. I was not allowed to just go through the files at random. The problem is, of course, if you do not know what is in the files, you can't request it. Even with that limited knowledge, I only received photoduplicated copies of file material to review. I never actually saw the raw data. The whole problem was compounded since the evaluator had under contract only a limited number of days allocated to working with me on data retrieval and review.

With this kind of questionable behavior, I suspected that I had missed several important meetings which the staff had held purposely without my knowledge.* Throughout Stage Two, I was able to find out that such meetings in fact had taken place. Since much of my information about these meetings was second-hand, they did not get recorded on field data forms. Insted, I kept track of the data and would informally follow-up specific leads with the appropriate TPP staff.

Soon in Stage Two, it became apparent to the staff that I had a good working understanding of the Project which included these private meetings. By the Spring of 1976, I was asked to join in most of the previously closed sessions. However, during such sessions, I might be asked not to record certain parts of the discussion.

I had to make some choices about what to record. In the small group meetings, the agendas were set but often got diverted into discussions about local people, politics, and policies. Personal stories, and anecdotes usually prolonged the sessions. Toward the end of Stage Two and throughout Stage Three, I only recorded data that pertained to the project directly. While the other information was certainly part of the emotional milieu of the project, it soon became repetitive and counter-productive for research purposes.

The workshops and Policy Committee meetings were, on the other hand, well structured and coordinated. The staff conducted these meetings based on carefully planned training skills, or policy issues that they wanted accomplished. Many personal conversations also took place which I recorded since

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*Implicit in Rapport-building in a new culture, is the researcher's own sense of paranoia. Is everyone against me? Will I ever be accepted? After all, I am not "one of them." So the process of building rapport must be continuous throughout the research.

these were significant for an understanding of TPP. Later I developed a more aggressive approach and I would seek out sub-groups or individuals to either observe or ask questions about TPP issues. I did this increasingly in Stage Three. For example, as the numbers of people at the workshops increased, I would sit in on the conversations of one of my target schools. I would also be sure to have drinks and dinner with that group so that I was able to interact with them more informally. The tactic was effective since the TPP staff was later curious about what "I had found out" and I would go to those schools for continued discussions.

In Stage Two, school-site meetings such as departmental meetings, faculty councils, and work sessions took place. These were usually formal meetings with set agendas. Again, the information would be directed to certain predetermined goals. Often the most productive data came either before or after such meetings when I would sit and talk to people about their reactions or call them later about the meeting.

During Stage Two I also turned my attention to interviews of the school-site staffs for the same reasons listed in Stage One: rapport-building and base-line data collection. The interviews were usually short (one-half to one hour long) with the help of a research assistant whom I employed in December of 1975. His assistance became crucial for three reasons. First, I was not physically able to cover all the meetings, because some were held at the same time with different groups of people in different places. Second, because of other DTA demands (e.g., meetings out of town, rewriting field data forms, or their preparation), I was drawn out of the field while continuing events took place. Third, I found that another observer of TPP gave me someone with whom to verify and check data. I was able to build in a reliability test of data collection as well as follow up on leads, theoretical ideas, and an overall analysis of TPP.

Throughout Stage Two, I continued my survey of the media news, and gathered other demographic data, but this effort was not as concentrated as it had been in Stage One. Rapport building was continued and expanded to include school-site staff members.

Finally, I had decided that in order to strengthen my legitimacy with the TPP staff, I would provide them with some information about DTA. Throughout the Fall of 1975, I would report frequently about DTA issues and concerns for three reasons. One was simply to explain the rationale for my own behavior. That is, if I had to pull back from field work, I had to let the TPP Staff know why--to fill out field data forms, go to DTA meetings, be on a conference call, etc. Another reason was to let the TPP staff know the state of DTA and where it was headed. I felt obligated to give the TPP staff some data on DTA as a form of informational feedback which I believe they appreciated.

A more subtle concern of mine was my own personal need to be a part of some daily conversation and interaction. Being a passive observer can be destructive both to the observer and the situation, so I chose a safe area to talk about: DTA. As far as I know only one incident turned out poorly. That occurred early in Stage Three when I told the Principal Investigator about my need to rewrite dozens of field data forms and how this would take me away from doing field work. I was emotional and upset about it so she got concerned and called the NIE Project Officer to complain. The entire situation got more confused when the NIE Project Officer for DTA got involved and raised questions with the DTA Project Director about where I should place my time priorities. The issue was resolved but not until several people were drawn into the discussion. In retrospect, the issues were important enough to be brought out in the open but the emotional energy which everyone exerted was draining. Over two weeks of anxiety and frustration were spent discussing this usually via long distance phone calls. Meanwhile my work piled up and I got behind even more.

Stage Three: Interviewing (March-June 1976)

By the end of winter (March), Stage Three began and by early summer, it culminated in the draft of a case study on TPP. I continued to observe meetings (although there were fewer now), and collected media and demographic data. However, the shift into indepth interviewing was a calculated move on my part to get at the basic issues in TPP. Throughout the first and second stages, I concentrated on the totality of TPP. The rapport-building and observations were only directed at recording group events. Little was done overtly to get at the new workings of the project; even less was known directly about the TPP schools. I had been a passive observer but now was aggressively probing and discovering the whys and why-nots of the project.

In order to facilitate this, I had to interview participants at great length. I also had to coordinate the effort with the SRI evaluator which required some interviewing in April of 1976 but the bulk of work took place in May and June.

DTA also had some issues (cross-site focuses) that had to be explored. The methodological approach that I took reflects a symbolic interactional perspective whereby the interview of individuals or small groups of people from varying perspectives is emphasized. The interview schedule appears as Appendix B.

Stage Four: Individual Observations (To the End of the Field Work)

In Stage Four, I observed individuals and their behavior rather than groups. Obviously, the close interaction between the researcher and the person observed implies a constant interview process. Time limited the number of people observed but two directions were clear.

A consortium of six teachers became the Principal Investigator during 1976-77. Only full time teachers ran the project. No additional professional staff were hired. Each of these teachers was observed both in their TPP roles and as teachers in their respective schools.

Second, the key leaders at the three key school-sites were observed within their own schools. These teachers continued to be active in their schools although their role within TPP tended to change. Some were observed in the classroom, in the school itself, and where possible, at home or on free time. Likewise, school-site administrators were observed in their role.

The idea was to watch the impact of TPP on the individual and attempt to determine if the process would continue after the NIE funding ends.

Other Considerations of the Method

At the end of the second year of research, a final version of the case study was submitted. Projections for another year of formal research to follow-up on TPP after the funding ended never materialized. However, occasional contact with TPP occurred. Research on the institutional process in a project without external financial resources would be useful. The internal evaluator received some funds from TPP to do that specifically.

In writing the case study, I have reviewed my field notes and field data forms. These data come from my observation of meetings and records of interviews. Two serious drawbacks became apparent in relying solely upon this form of data collection.

1. Inability to record casual, informal, and current language used by project participants; and
2. Initially, the recording only of meetings and events with few interviews and small group conversations.

These restrictions were the result of both DTA policy and my own time constraints. Consequently, I have, besides my notes for field data forms, another stack of less systematized field notes. Data from both sources appear in the case study. Words, phrases, or sentences that appear in quotation marks any place in this study are quoted directly from project participants and documents. I have sought to maintain confidentiality by leaving the speakers or writers unnamed.

Next I reviewed documents, reports, and other materials from or concerning the project or Central City. I have relied upon the School District's statistical reports (achievement scores, ethnicity, special programs, etc.), the evaluation report from the Stanford Research Institute, brochures, and papers published by the State Teacher Association and by TPP itself (workshop agendas, position papers, minutes of meetings, TPP Sheets, etc.). In addition, I have used newspaper reports, court reports, and broadcast media news. Finally, I have secured reports of studies conducted by the County Welfare Board, County Board of Education, City Hall, Central City State University, Stanford University Center for the Development of Teaching, and Far West Educational Laboratory for Research and Development. These sources are cited where appropriate.

I have also incorporated analytical themes and topics about which I have written during the past three years. Some of these short papers have been revised and incorporated as chapters in the case study. In doing so, I have selected certain materials to emphasize, delete, or revise. Finally, I have sent unedited copies of each chapter in the case study to the various project participants: administrators, teachers, parents, evaluators, and State Teacher Association personnel. I did so to provide them with direct feedback from my research, and especially to get clarity on points of fact. I believe

that the latter is a vital part of my research effort. I have used the project participants as a collective group of key informants. To do so means that I was willing to share with them openly the written results of my data collection. I am aware that points and issues sensitive to some may provoke anger. I have been willing to accept and to handle that open and free exchange of information. There was some tension, and a few hurt feelings, but I believe they have been ameliorated. The fact is that the project participants wanted to hear from me. I received extensive feedback from the core group of teachers in TPP during a weekend planning retreat in September, 1976.

I also want to emphasize two principles that have prevailed throughout my research and writing. One has been the ethical concern with confidentiality. I have tried to keep names and places out of the case study. Of course, the project participants know who is who. In that spirit, I have quoted people directly from my field notes, but I have avoided telling who said what. There may be many sensitive spots throughout the case study. On numerous occasions during the research, I was told significant facts in confidence. I cannot count the number of times that people said "don't write that down" or "please put your pen away." I have reported some of those statements by keeping the source confidential, and then, only after the importance of the issue seemed to have faded. Many controversial occasions are not reported in this case study, because they could cause individuals or groups in the project some harm.

The other principle is my constant attempt to maintain rapport with all the political factions in the project. With conflicting interests, motives, and personal styles among the project participants, this has been a difficult task. I have tried to represent the project from a complex combination of all these perspectives. In some places, one perspective might dominate

another; however, on balance, I have tried to include everyone. I may sometimes use my own perspective to portray what I believe to be the most accurate understanding of an issue, event, or situation. But generally, when I present the material from one point of view instead of another, it does not necessarily mean that I agree with that perspective. I reserve my overall conclusions and recommendations for some other place.

APPENDIX B: EXAMPLE OF INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR TEACHER PARTICIPATION PROJECT

EXAMPLE OF INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR TEACHER PARTICIPATION PROJECT

1. BACKGROUND OF INTERVIEWEE

Who is the person being interviewed? Where is he/she coming from in terms of personal/professional/political background and experience? We need to know who we are talking to, so that their responses can be put in some personal context.

a. Personal Background. Some data about age and status (marital/professional), place of birth, where they have lived, whether geographically and professionally mobile, etc. Family history? What parents did? What siblings are doing now? What wife/husband does? What children do? Aspirations for family?

b. Educational Background. Where was the individual being interviewed educated? School, college, graduate school? Is he/she working on some advanced degree or professional credential? What has he/she taught, and where? What kinds of professional expectations? What kinds of schools and communities taught in/around?

c. Professional Background. Where taught, what subjects, and at what levels? Any administrative or faculty/organizational roles and responsibilities? Innovative work in classroom or professional organizations? Any goals, aspirations, etc. here? Other educational experiences? Other work experiences?

d. Political Background. Any prior activity of a political nature, for example, in Teacher Associations at local, state or national levels? Role as an opinion leader in the school where he/she teaches, maybe beginning with some innovation in curriculum, methods, or outside activities for students, etc.?

2. INVOLVEMENT IN TPP PROJECT

What we are looking for now are links between personal/professional background and experience, and commitment to and involvement in TPP, a manifestly political project aimed at decentralizing decision making and professionalizing the teaching role. ("Professionalizing" means greater responsibility, greater self-esteem, greater organizing and innovative capabilities.) One cannot separate the organizational and professional changes. The means to achieving these changes are political. We also want to ask if TPP is necessary; perhaps it is only a catalyst? How does a person get out of TPP? Why?

a. How did you become involved in TPP? Was he/she an organizer? An early recruit to the program? A strong supporter in his/her school? A latecomer who was persuaded to join in? Involved in similar projects?

b. Who recruited you to TPP? Did you work in Teacher Association? Did you know the people on the TPP staff? Were you urged to become involved by someone in the principal's office? The district office? How did it happen? Who did you know?

c. What roles have you played in TPP? What has been your role? Responsibilities? Have they changed? Have you played several roles? Recruited others? Where do you see the power? Who is in control? Why?

d. What have you learned in the process? What have you learned while being involved in TPP? About people, as individuals? About teachers, principals, and other administrators? About the limits and possibilities of personal growth? Institutional change? Do you relate to your students now in different ways? What if there were a student Participation Project? What would your reaction be? Why?

3. ASSESSMENT OF TPP PROJECT

What does the interviewee think of TPP's impact? Has it made a little, some, or a lot of difference in the organizational and professional life of the individual in CCUSD? What kinds of conflicts were generated, and how were they resolved? What are the long range implications of such changes in schools and teaching situations?

a. What changes has TPP generated? Has it really changed decision making and problem solving patterns which existed? Give some examples. Has it provided teachers with some greater sense of personal effectiveness and professional responsibilities? Has it changed self-images, as well as organizational structures? Has it changed administrative as well as teacher attitudes?

b. What conflicts did TPP generate? What kinds of problems arose in the process of moving TPP along? With regard to other teachers? School principals and counselors? Central office leaders and middle management people? Were a lot of people threatened? Were many people responsive?

Have many people been "educated" about what is involved in institutional changes of this kind?

c. What happened within TPP itself? How did roles and relationships change? How are they still changing? Has it been easy to work with the TPP office? With the Teacher Association representatives? Sharing responsibility and merging skills so that the project could be a success? Particularly as it underwent changes each year from a dominant role for Teacher Association to a dominant role for TPP?

d. Has TPP been effective in Central City? Does it provide a model for others in California and elsewhere?

It was a good idea, an idea whose "time has come." But, has it been effective, in the development, planning, and institutionalization? Have attitudes and behaviors really changed? Will they continue to change, over time, and as people understand more about the potentialities of this kind of program? Have you something to teach other school districts, locally, in California, in the nation? Do you provide a good model for them to study, adapt, and use in other settings?

4. IMPLICATIONS FOR THE FUTURE

What do the participants see down the road, in terms of long-range trends and impacts? Is TPP riding the "wave of the future" in American education? Is there going to be more reorganization and more reevaluation of teachers/teaching/etc.? How does it fit in with parent involvement and student involvement? And the growth of teacher organization and collective bargaining? And, for that matter, innovations like team-teaching, individualized instruction, early departures from high school, and alternative programs for the bright, and the disadvantaged, or whatever?

a. What are the main trends today in American public education, as you see them? What conflicts and changes are developing, and how does TPP relate to these conflicts/changes?

b. Is TPP a reflection of change? Is the whole idea of decentralization and professionalization being reflected in Central City, in part through TPP and what it is trying to achieve? Are the values underlying the TPP project those of the wave of the future in education? What educators and critics have been calling for? What teachers have been wanting?

c. What is happening in Central City USD? What are the big changes locally, and how does TPP relate to them?

d. Can others learn from TPP? Is it a good model?

In your opinion, does this change provide a good model for others to study and adapt to their needs? What lessons are being learned anyway? And what are their implications for others?

a. Is TPP an effective model for decentralization (and greater professionalization)?

Can others study TPP, and learn from it what is involved when a school district seeks to decentralize and give greater responsibility to the individual teacher and the individual school site? How is this model instructive, both positively and negatively?

b. What about role conflicts in the district?

How are roles changing? Teachers/students? Teachers/principals? Principals/superintendents and central office personnel? Why so much conflict over role-changes? Are a lot of people being "threatened"? Are the "threats" to their roles real, or in part imagined? Who will survive in such a change situation? What personal and professional characteristics are needed to survive? (innovation, imagination, etc.)

c. What about institutionalization of change?

It really seems to be difficult. Changing values and roles. Generating new attitudes and creating new skills. Creating new organizations and new structures, and making them work. What are the most important problems here? Administration anxiety, teacher apathy, or what?

d. What are the real issues in contemporary education? And how does TPP relate to those issues?

Professionalization? Decentralization? We hear a lot about both of them, and they seem to be built into the project. Is this true? Are these key issues? Is the project really making changes which institutionalize these values?

APPENDIX C: ABOUT THE AUTHOR

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Woodrow Wilson Clark Jr. was born in Columbus, Ohio just after World War II. He was raised in Hamden, Connecticut but received his education as he moved West. In 1957, Clark received his B.A. in Political Science from Ohio Wesleyan University. He then received three separate masters' degrees in Political Science, Anthropology, and Education from Roosevelt University (1970), University of Illinois, Urbana (1974) and Loyola University (1975), respectively plus a certificate in African Studies from Northwestern University. He holds the Ph.D. from the University of California, Berkeley (1977) in Anthropology and Education. Currently, Dr. Clark is a Research Anthropologist at the Institute for the Study of Social Change, University of California, Berkeley. He has published and consulted on evaluation and methodology in education. His book, Violence in Schools has become the basis of a television documentary and film. Dr. Clark consults on children's programming and community affairs for San Francisco Bay Area television and radio stations. He has formed his own film production company and started a private practice in clinical anthropology.

GLOSSARY

CCTA - Central City Teacher Association.

CCUSD - Central City Unified School District.

CEPM - Center for Educational Policy and Management, the sub-contractor to CNS for DTA, located in Eugene, Oregon

CNS - Center for New Schools, the prime NIE contractor for DTA, located in Chicago, Illinois.

Consortium - A collective group of people who together made decisions.

Constitutions - School-site written documents delineating staff officers' roles and responsibilities for decision-making.

DTA - Documentation and Technical Assistance Project.

Governance Structure - An officially elected group serving defined roles within a school council or senate that has decision-making power and authority.

NIE - National Institute of Education in Health, Education and Welfare of the Federal Government.

OE - Office of Education in Health, Education and Welfare of the Federal Government.

Principal Investigator - An individual or group given administrative power and authority to execute a grant or contract.

SRI - Stanford Research Institute.

School Council - A particular governance structure for a school.

School Involvement Team - The larger equivalent of triads so that for bigger schools more people could be made into a team.

School Senate - A particular governance structure for a school.

State Teacher Association - The state-wide network of local teacher associations that are distinct from unions.

TPP - Teacher Participation Project.

Triad - Three opinion leaders in a school to form a team in order to implement TPP.

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